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The Image of Woman
as a National Icon
in Modern Japanese Art:
1890s-1930s

Volume 1
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Submitted as a partial requirement
for the degree of doctor
of philosophy, awarded by
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Volume 2 : Illustrations

Abstract

In the 1890s, the Meiji government established its Japanese constitution. After the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese wars, Japan colonised Taiwan and Korea and increased its military power. The Japanese artists who lived during this time were in many ways reacting to this rapid social change that was taking place.

This thesis aims to analyse the diverse images of women that were primarily produced by artists working under the government regime and to show how these artists seek to resolve through their work the tensions to which modernity, nation and empire give rise. My discussion begins with the French-trained Japanese painter, Kuroda Seiki, who introduced life class to Japan after he became the head of the Department of Western Art at the Tokyo School of Fine Art in 1896. He also introduced the studio fraternity of male artists to Japan and encouraged students to paint female nudes to catch up with the standards set by Western art. In the beginning of the twentieth century, Okada Saburôtsuke and Wada Eisaku created images of “kimono beauty” by internalising the Western gaze on Japanese women in kimonos as exotic objects. The Mitsui kimono shop promoted newly designed kimonos for bourgeois women as a “national dress.” They popularised kimono beauty with their products in print and billboards. These images had a major influence on *nihonga* artists of the 1910s, which led to the vogue of *Bijin-ga* (paintings of beautiful women).

As Japan expanded its territory in East Asia, Japanese artists needed to create new icons of Japan. Fujishima Takeji expressed *tôyô seishin* (spirit of the East) in the 1920s by using images of women in Chinese dress that symbolised a modernised Japan that was the counterpart of the West. After the Japanese invasion of China, a vogue of images of women in modern Chinese dress appeared in the 1930s. Artists who had been to Europe in the 1920s rediscovered the beauty of Japanese nature and life while simultaneously depicting Japanese subalterns by humble images of their women. Contrasted with these, images of kimono beauty in the 1930s distinguished themselves through expressions of urbanity and prosperity. Examples of kimono beauty produced by female painters at the end of the 1930s reveal that they themselves as well as the images that they produced were incorporated within the imperial regime.

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I received invaluable advice from Professors Nakamachi Keiko and Miyazaki Noriko who are my senior colleagues at Jissen Women’s University. They invited me to join their research project on “Literati Culture in East Asia” in 1998 and organised a workshop of the Japan Art History Society in 2001. I am indebted to their profound knowledge on Japanese and Chinese art, especially on the literati culture in both countries. I am also grateful for their

recommendation for me to write an essay on images of women in kimono for the second volume of *Art and Gender* published in 2005. I also express my gratitude to another editors of the book, Professor Suzuki Tokiko, who gave me an opportunity to join a symposium on *War and Memory* held at the Meiji Gakuin University in 2003.

I also would like to thank Kawasaki City Museum, especially Sugita Shinju, Kôriyama City Museum and Machida International Print Museum, especially Kôno Minoru for allowing me to research their print collection. Mori Noboru, Mori Hitoshi, Tanaka Atsushi and Professors Aoki Shigeru, Yoshida Chizuko, Iwakiri Shin'ichirô and Tan'o Yasunori, gave me useful advice on my research. I am also grateful to Rawanchaikul Toshiko for our informative discussions on Taiwanese artists and to Kim Yong Soon, former Visiting Professor of Tokyo University, whose advice and guidance in Seoul facilitated my research on Korean modern art. My thanks also go to Kanokogi Yoshiko who generously allowed me to use archival documents on her grandfather-in-law, Kanokogi Takeshirô.

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Note

Japanese terms are written in italics. Japanese names are given in Japanese order, with the family name first, though in discussing the Japanese-style artists, I have applied the convention of referring to them in their name used in painting (*ga-gô*). For example, Tsuchida Bakusen is written as Bakusen after it was first shown in full name, with the family name Tsuchida first. I also refer to Kishida Ryûsei by his first name, by which he is commonly known.

This thesis is in two volumes to enable viewing of reference images while reading the text.

Introduction

After European notions of art were introduced to Japan in the late nineteenth century, images of women became one of the important subjects in visual arts in Japan. However, Japanese did not develop symbolic female figures to represent the Japanese nation similar to *Marianne* in France. Although mythological images such as *Yamato-hime* (princess of Yamato) and *Jingû Kôgô* (the Empress Jingû) were created in the Meiji period, they did not become popular national icons. Wakakuwa Midori has pointed out that the reason for this is that the Japanese government established a patriarchal social system centred on the Meiji Emperor. She also argued that the Meiji Empress had already become a representative female national icon of Meiji Japan.¹ The photograph of the Meiji Empress had been reproduced in numerous woodblock prints and lithographs in the 1880s and 1890s with the title of “portrait of a noble woman.” Her portraits usually included Chinese-style (or Japanese-style) books and a flower in a Chinese vase. As I will discuss in chapter 3.1, this was the iconography commonly used to show the beauty and wisdom of a woman since the eighteenth century.²

On the other hand, images of geisha were as popular as that of the empress among the mass-produced prints. Portraits of geisha often had titles such as “*bijin* (a beautiful woman) doing something.” Interestingly enough, we can find the same kind of settings in some of the lithographs of geisha as those that were used in the portraits of the empress. Shops for prints often sold both of these images. Is it therefore possible to conclude that portraits of geisha and of the empress were both appreciated as representative images of beauties of the period?

¹ Wakakuwa, Midori. *Kôgô no Shôzô: Shôken Kôtaigô no Hyôshô to Josei no Kokuminka* (Portraits of the Empress: Representation of the Shôken Empress Dowager and Nationalizing Women), Tokyo: Chikuma Shobô, 2001.

² I reported on the iconography of the portrait of the Meiji Empress in 2000 at a meeting of the Japan Art History Society, which was titled “*Meiji-ki no Joseizô ni miru Bitoku no Hyôgen: Geigi kara Kôgô made*” (Iconography of Virtue in Female Images Produced in Meiji: Portraits of Geisha and the Empress).

As a result of Miya Elise Mizuta Lippit's close analysis, we know that the idea of *bijin* was formed during the second and third decades of the Meiji period (1887-1906).³ Although Lippit did not discuss issues of gender, she proved that the idea of *bijin* was linked to the reception of Western aesthetics among male scholars, novelists and artists in modern Japan. Thus, we would like to ask if it is not possible also to analyse images of women that prevailed in each period as a reflection of the spirit of the age?

The word *bijin-ga* (pictures of *bijin*) has usually been used for *nihon-ga*, the modern painting style based on traditional techniques in Japanese art up to the present age. *Nihon-ga* have been analysed separately from similar images of "beautiful" women in oil paintings and other media. Therefore, why do we not discuss these images in across a wide range of media, including oil paintings, prints and graphic art?

The genre called *bijin-ga* became popular in *nihon-ga* in the 1910s. From this period on, the word *bijin-ga* has been used with the implication that this style was "for the masses." Exhibitions whose titles bear the term *bijin-ga* have tended to be organised to attract large audiences and often lacked academic participation. *Bijinga no Tanjô (The Birth of Bijinga)* held at Yamatane Museum of Art, Tokyo in 1997, may be the first exhibition presented from an art historian's point of view that showed a wide range of images of beautiful women represented in prints, postcards, posters, oil paintings and *nihon-ga* from the end of eighteenth century to the 1930s. *Taisho Chic: Japanese Modernity, Nostalgia and Deco* exhibition held at the Honolulu Academy of Arts, Hawaii in 2001, showed images of beauty in *nihon-ga* and woodblock prints mainly produced in the 1920s and 1930s. The essay by Kendall H. Brown in this exhibition's catalogue gave us a compact view of Japanese urban culture in the Taishô and the early Shôwa period,⁴ and his entries on each picture provided

³ *Figures of Beauty: Aesthetics and the Beautiful Woman in Meiji Japan*, PhD Dissertation of Yale University, Michigan: UMI Dissertation Services, 2001.

⁴ Brown, Kendall H. "Flowers of Taishô: Images of Women in Japanese Society and Art," pp.17-28.

detailed information on the artists and their works. However, his disposition was to contrast *nihon-ga* with *yôga* (oil paintings by Japanese painters) by associating *nihon-ga* with tradition and *yôga* with modernity in general.

In my thesis, I focus on diverse images of women produced in *nihon-ga*, oil paintings and other media from the 1890s to 1930s and aim to discuss these works without distinguishing analysis among media. As Lippit focused on the second and third decades of the Meiji period (1887-1906), my first three chapters deal with images mainly produced from around 1890 to 1910, and discuss the impact of Western ideas on the representation of female images in Japanese art. In fact, 1889 was an important year in marking a new epoch in Japanese modernisation. The Constitution of Imperial Japan was promulgated in this year and the *Kunaishô* (Imperial Household Ministry) opened the imperial museum in Tokyo. The *Monbushô* (Ministry of Education) opened the Tokyo School of Fine Arts in the same year, which became the most important educational institute for art in Japan. Under the guidance of Okakura Tenshin, professors and students in the department of painting produced *nihon-ga*. However, the school did not establish the department of Western-style painting until 1896, and oil painters formed a group called *Meiji Bijutsu-kai* (Society of Meiji Art) in 1889 and launched exhibitions. Oil paintings had not been included in the nationally organised exhibitions since 1882, and it was only in 1890 that oil painters could participate in the third *Naikoku Kangyô Hakurankai* (National Industrial Exhibition).

I begin my discussion with Kuroda Seiki (1866-1924), who studied in France and introduced life class to Japan when he became the head of the Department of Western Art at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts in 1896. He enjoyed the studio fraternity of male artists in Paris and believed that depicting female nudes was essential for modernising Japanese art. I will analyse his family background and how he formed his gendered view on art in France. Kuroda is one of the most well researched artists in Japanese art history but

only Norman Bryson has made a critical analysis of Kuroda from a gender studies perspective in the early 1990s. In Japan, very few art historians carried out research on gender issues in modern Japanese art.⁵ I use Bryson's article as a model and develop his research by adding more documents and examples of works related to Kuroda.⁶

In chapter two, I discuss the controversy over representations of female nudes in the mid-Meiji period. Though many of the examples that I use in this chapter are already known to art historians, the point is to analyse how such debate brought attention to images of female nudes in Japan and strengthened the male-centred views of art. I will analyse how the control over nude images by police tightened the masculine camaraderie of male artists. In addition, I introduce documents from the Pantheon Society formed by Japanese in Paris in 1900. As the members of this society were not exclusively artists, I will discuss how the masculine camaraderie and male-centred view of female images became common to a broader range of male elites in Japan.

In chapter three, we focus on Okada Saburōsuke (1869-1939) and Wada Eisaku (1874-1959) and analyse how they invented images of "kimono beauty" to be representative of Japanese beauties or national icons. The two artists were colleagues of Kuroda who had studied under the same teacher in France and were influential professors of the Tokyo School of Fine Arts. However, they had not been well researched until very recently. As they had maintained the academic standards of representation until their later years, their works were regarded as outdated. Although Okada's images of beautiful women attracted

⁵ Research on Japanese modern art in the early twentieth century from a perspective of gender issues in the early period can be found in, for example, Ikeda, Shinobu. *Nihon Kaiga no Josei-zō Jendāshi no Shiten kara* (Images of Women in Japanese Paintings: from the Viewpoint of Gender Studies), Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1998 and Kokatsu, Reiko. *Hashiru On'na tachi: Joryū Gaka no Senzen Sengo, 1930-1950 nendai* (Japanese Women Artists before and after World War II, 1930s-1950s), Utsunomiya: Tochigi Prefectural Museum of Art, 2001. On the study of modern Japanese history from the viewpoint of gender issues in English, see introduction written by Barbara Molony and Kathleen Uno, in Molony, Barbara; Uno, Kathleen, eds., *Gendering Modern Japanese History*, Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2005.

⁶ My preliminary discussion on this subject was published in Japanese, "Kuroda Seiki ni miru Rataiga no Juyō to sono Eikyō" (Reception of Nude Paintings by Kuroda Seiki and Their Impact), in *Jissen Joshi Daigaku Bigaku Bijutsushi Gaku* (The Review of Art History Department of Jissen Women's University), no. 14, Tokyo: Jissen Women's University, 1999, pp. 43-60.

audiences, they were not analysed academically. In this chapter, I will examine idealised images of beautiful women made by them and how they became popular with the help of the Mitsui kimono shop after 1904. The activities of the Mitsui kimono shop, which later became the Mitsukoshi Department store have already been well researched. Hatsuda Tōru provided an overview of the history of department stores in Japan and introduced the pioneering activities of that shop.⁷ Also, Jinno Yuki analysed their advertising strategy from the perspective of the promotion of modern taste.⁸ Tamamushi Satoko has researched how Mitsukoshi worked for a revaluation of the art of Ogata Kōrin,⁹ and Christine Guth has explored Masuda Takashi and his colleagues in the Mitsui group's passion for collecting artwork.¹⁰ Julia Elizabeth Sapin has examined how department stores in the Meiji period patronised painters to develop their economic and political system.¹¹ My discussion will aim to link the efforts of Mitsukoshi to invent a cultural identity for Japan with the formation of the images of kimono beauty by Wada and Okada and how they become a kind of national icon in the public eye. I will analyse the reasons for their popularity and their impact on *bijin-ga* by *nihon-ga* artists in the 1910s.

In chapter four, I focus on Fujishima Takeji's (1867-1943) images of women in Chinese dress produced in the 1920s. Fujishima was also a colleague of Kuroda, though his study in France came after the Japanese victory in the Russo-Japanese war. I will explore how he tried to portray an image of Japan as a leader in East Asia. While Wada and Okada invented a new Japanese icon in the form of the kimono beauty after they had internalised the Western gaze on Japanese women, Fujishima created another icon of imperial Japan with images of women in Chinese dress. Yamanashi Emiko has analysed

⁷ Hatsuda, Tōru. *Hyakkaten no Tanjō (The Birth of Department Stores)*, Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1999.

⁸ Jinno, Yuki. *Shumi no Tanjō: Hyakka-ten ga tsukutta Teisuto (The Birth of Taste: Taste promoted by a department store)*, Tokyo: Keisō Shobō, 1994.

⁹ Tamamushi, Satoko. *Ikitsuzukeru Kōrin (Eternal Kōrin)*, Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2004.

¹⁰ Guth, Christine M.E., *Art, Tea, and Industry: Masuda Takashi and the Mitsui Circle*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.

¹¹ *Liaisons between painters and department stores: merchandising art and identity in Meiji Japan, 1868-1912*, Michigan: UMI, 2006.

Fujishima's painting by using the idea of "Orientalism"¹² and Ikeda Shinobu has discussed the male Japanese artists' gaze on the "exotic" fashion of the subaltern culture embodied in female figures.¹³ However, my point is not to examine such a structure of the hegemon and the subaltern. John Clark has already pointed out the difficulties in discussing images of China in modern Japanese art because Japan had long yearned for Chinese culture and the representations of China were diverse.¹⁴ Although I have some reservations for some of his points, my analysis also begins from the complex range of sentiments held toward Chinese culture by Japanese people. I thus also look into how Japan created a new iconography to illustrate the relationship between China and Japan after Japan had invaded China.¹⁵ I also analyse the case of Kishida Ryūsei, who lived an independent life as an artist in contrast to Fujishima, and discuss how he struggled between his personal admiration for Chinese traditional culture and the real China.¹⁶

In chapter five, I analysed paintings from the 1930s by Japanese artists whose study in Europe led them to find colonial subjects in Korea, Taiwan and in China. The male artists I discuss in this chapter were sent to Korea and Taiwan by the Japanese government to judge exhibitions that were held under Japanese control. They were treated as members of the ruling class in the colonies. I contrast their expressions of women with works by Taiwan-born artists whose artistic identities were more complex. The final case study, which

¹² Yamanashi, Emiko. "Nihon Kindai Yōga ni okeru Orientarizumu" (How Oriental Images were depicted in Japanese Oil Paintings in the 1880s-1930s), in *Ima Nihon no Bijutsushi-gaku o Furikaeru (The Present and the Discipline of Art history in Japan)*, Tokyo National Research institute of Cultural Properties ed., Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1999, pp. 81-94.

¹³ "Shina-fuku no On'na' to iu Yūwaku" (The Allure of Women clothed in Chinese Dress), in *Rekishigaku Kenkyū (Journal of Historical Studies)*, no.765, August 2002, pp. 1-37.

¹⁴ Clark, John. "Artists and the State: the Image of China," in *Society and the State in Interwar Japan*, edited by Elise K. Tipton, London, New York: Routledge, 1997, pp. 63-99.

¹⁵ I first reported on the vogue of Chinese dress in paintings exhibited in the government-sponsored exhibitions under the title of *Kindai ni okeru Bunjin Shumi no Henyō to Shūen (Change and Decline of Literati Culture in Modern Japan)* at a symposium titled "Kinsei Higashi Ajia no Shakai, Imēji, Kōryū: Bunjin teki Katchi-kan no Tenkan to Henyō" (*Society, Image and Cultural Exchange in the East Asia: Change and Transformation of the idea of Literati Culture*) held by the Japan Art History Society on 28 July 2001.

¹⁶ After the completion of this thesis, we read an interesting article by Bert Winther-Tamaki, "Oriental Coefficient: The Role of China in the Japanization of Yōga," in *Modern Chinese Literature and Culture*, vol. 18, no. 1, 2006, pp. 85-119 (<http://mclc.osu.edu/jou/mclc.htm>). It shares some of the interest with chapter four of this study. He has analysed how Japanese oil painters formed their "Japanised" expression between Western and Chinese cultures.

deals with Uemura Shōen, the most famous female artist in modern Japanese art, demonstrates how her images of kimono beauty, not to mention the artist herself, were mobilised under the war regime.

We cannot deny that most histories of Japanese modern art have been written in the context of the reception of new waves of European art under the impact of modernism art theory. Recently, intensively researched books and doctoral theses in English have increased but they also tend to focus on avant-garde art, possibly because such works have more links with modern European art.¹⁷ For my part, I mainly deal with artists who exhibited their work at the governmental exhibitions in Japan, and whose work has not yet been sufficiently analysed in the context of post-colonialism and gender studies. My research is based on each work of art as well as the various discourses on them in manuscripts, articles in magazines, newspapers and other publications. My aim is to investigate how leading artists in Japan sought to create an original expression that would represent a new Japanese identity at a time when they were not free from the governmental cultural policy in the age of Japanese imperialism and colonialism.

The focus period for this thesis ends in around 1940. Okada died in 1939 and Fujishima became seriously ill in 1941. The National Mobilisation Law was enacted in 1938, and the government increased control over the activities of artists at the beginning of the 1940s until the end of the war in 1945. An investigation of the artistic scene during the period of the war regime is beyond the scope of this paper and will require a separate study.

¹⁷ One of the recent examples of excellent research on the field was by Gennifer Weisenfeld, *Mavo: Japanese Artists and the Avant-Garde 1905-1931*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2002.

Chapter 1 Kuroda Seiki and His Reception of Western Art

1.1 Kuroda Seiki in Japanese art history

Before analysing the gendered structure of modern Japanese art, we need to briefly review the art policies of the Meiji government in the early stages of modernisation in Japan. After the fall of the Tokugawa Shogunate in 1868, the Meiji government urgently needed to establish a modernised nation. They recruited scholars, scientists and technology experts from Europe and the United States. As part of this effort related to art, the *Kôbushô* (Ministry of Technology) hired Italian artists to open a school for Western-style art. Thus, the *Kôbu Bijutsu Gakkô* (Art School of the Ministry of Technology) was established in 1876. Though the school was closed in 1881, students who studied there became pioneers of oil paintings and sculpture in Japan.

In 1889, the Constitution of Imperial Japan was promulgated and a constitutional monarchy was established. In the same year, the Imperial Museum opened in Tokyo under the *Kunaishô* (Imperial Household Ministry) and the *Monbushô* (Ministry of Education) opened the *Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkô* (Tokyo School of Fine Arts). Okakura Tenshin (1862-1913), the director of the Department of Fine Arts of the Imperial Museum held the post of the director of the Tokyo School of Fine Arts in 1890 and guided students to create *nihon-ga* (Japanese-style painting) based on traditional techniques. The term *nihon-ga*, which consists of the words *Nihon* (Japan) and *ga* (painting) makes clear the aim of creating modern paintings in a native Japanese style.¹

The Imperial Museum was reorganized as the Imperial Household Museum in 1900, and two other Imperial Household Museums were opened in Kyoto and Nara, the ancient capitals of Imperial Japan. Precious antiquities taken from old shrines and temples were regarded as cultural properties, and were exhibited at these museums. As Takagi Hiroshi has discussed in his

¹ Satô, Dôshin. '*Nihon Bijutsu*' *Tanjô: Kindai Nihon no 'Kotoba' to Senryaku* (*The Birth of 'Japanese Art': A 'Terms' and Strategies of Modern Japan*), Tokyo: Kôdansha, 1996.

articles,² the establishment of national museums and the administration of the protection of cultural properties under the Meiji government was part of its policies to form a modern Japanese nation. In the same year, the first official book on Japanese art history, *Histoire de l'Art du Japon*, was published in French by *La Commission imperiale du Japon à l'Exposition universelle de Paris, 1900* (The Imperial Japanese Committee of for the Universal Exhibition of Paris of 1900) on this occasion. The history of Japanese art became a kind of national identity for modern Japan.³ Through this process of inventing Japanese "tradition"⁴ and creating a cultural identity, the attitude of the Meiji government toward Western-style art became negative for a while, especially after the closure of the *Kôbu Bijutsu Gakkô* in 1881. When it was first set up, the Tokyo School of Fine Arts did not have classes for oil paintings and Western-style sculpture; in fact, only *nihonga* and wood sculpture were taught there at the beginning.

Some of the former students of the *Kôbu Bijutsu Gakkô* went to Europe and pursued art academically. For example, Harada Naojirô (1863-1899) studied in *der Akademie der Bildenden Künste* in Munich, and Matsuoka Hisashi (1862-1944) entered *Regio Instituto di Belle Arti* in Rome. In France, Yamamoto Hôsui (1850-1906) was in the atelier of Jean-Léon Gérôme at *Ecole des Beaux-Arts*, and Goseda Yoshimatsu (1855-1915), who sent his paintings to the Salon, studied under Léon Bonnat at *Ecole Bonnat*. In 1889, after their return to Japan, they organized the first group of Western-style artists, which they called *Meiji Bijutsu-kai* (Society of Meiji Art), and held exhibitions of their oil

² Takagi, Hiroshi. *Kindai Tennôsei no Bunkashi-teki Kenkyû: Tennô Shûnin Girei, Nenchû Gyôji to Bunkazai* (A Study of Cultural History of the System of Modern Emperor: Coronation Ceremony, Annual Events and Cultural Heritage), Tokyo: Azekurashobô, 1997. Takagi, Hiroshi. "Nihon Kindai no Bunkazai Hogo Gyôsei to Bijutsu shi no Seintsu" (The Administration of the Protection of Cultural Properties during Japan's Modern Era and the Formation of the History of Art), in *The Present, and the Discipline of Art History in Japan, Proceeding of International Symposium on the Preservation of Cultural Property*, Tokyo, Tokyo: National Research Institute of Cultural Properties, 1999, pp. 13-21.

³ On the publication of *Histoire de l'Art du Japon*, see, Mabuchi, Akiko. "1900nen Pari Banpaku to Histoire de l'Art du Japon o Megutte" (The 1900 Paris World Exposition and *Histoire de l'Art du Japon*), in *The Present, and the Discipline of Art History in Japan, Proceeding of International Symposium on the Preservation of Cultural Property*, Tokyo, 1999, pp. 43-55.

⁴ I use the word "tradition" in the meaning as was discussed in: Hobsbawm, Eric; Ranger, Terence. eds., *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

paintings and lectures on Western art.

However, after the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95, Japan's modernisation entered a new phase. Japan colonised Taiwan and came into a position to promote modernisation there. Beyond this, the Japanese government made still more efforts to catch up with Western countries. Benefited by reparations from China, the Ministry of Education made allocations for the improvement of the educational system. Saionji Kinmochi (1849-1940), the Minister of Education, who had studied in Paris, established the Department of Western-style Painting at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts in 1896 and Kuroda Seiki (1866-1924), an oil painter, was appointed as the head of the department. Aided by his well-connected family, Kuroda had become an influential person in the art world although he had not yet reached forty years of age. Okakura Tenshin, on the other hand, had been dismissed as the head of the Tokyo School of Fine Arts in 1898. Kuroda became the first oil painter to be appointed a *Teishitsu Gigei-in* (Court Artist to the Imperial Household) in 1910, and was elected to the House of Peers in 1920. He assumed the head of *Teikoku Bijutsu-in* (Imperial Academy of Fine Arts) in 1922. After his death in 1924, Kuroda Memorial Hall was completed in 1928 at his bequest, and most of his important works were housed in the gallery. A national institute for art research called *Bijutsu Kenkyûjo* (Art Research Centre) was established in 1930, in accordance with Kuroda's will. This institution was later replaced by *Tokyo Bunkazai Kenkûjo* (National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, Tokyo).⁵ Researchers at these institutions published numerous studies on Kuroda. Using their collection, *Tokyo Bunkazai Kenkûjo* has organized Kuroda's solo exhibitions at provincial museums in Japan for many years and there is also an archive on Kuroda available on the Internet,⁶ where one can read the "official" biography of Kuroda. The introduction is as follows⁷:

⁵ After 2003, its name is Independent Administrative Institution, National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, Tokyo. Activities of the institution continues as before.

⁶ 'http://www.tobunken.go.jp/kuroda/Index.html.'

⁷ Tanaka, Atsushi. "The Life and Arts of Kuroda Seiki". (Translated in English on the website).

There may be no more widely known painting than *Lakeside*, with its image of a woman in a light summer kimono robe holding a fan as she sits against a backdrop of a pale blue lakeside scene. (...) It is also widely recognized that the artist of this work, Kuroda Seiki, played a major role in the history of modern art in Japan, as indicated by his sobriquet, "the father of modern Japanese Western-style painting". (...) Kuroda was one of the main supporters for the creation of a system of art education, which established both a form of painterly Academism and Western-style painting educational methods in Japan.

As noted above, Kuroda was regarded as "the father of modern Japanese Western-style painting," though he was not the pioneer of Japanese oil painting. Why has Kuroda become such an eminent figure in Japanese art? He was heavily involved in administrative jobs in his later years, and his artistic career was confined to the period of the 1890s to the 1900s. His activities of this period usually are narrated in connection with *Hakuba-kai* (White Horse Society), which he formed in 1896. Journalists at that time referred to *Hakuba-kai* as *Shim-pa* (New School) contrasting it with *Meiji Bijutsu-kai* as *Kyû-ha* (Old School). Since then, the word "new" has been used so often in descriptions of Kuroda and *Hakuba-kai* that it has become a cliché.⁸ Here I would like to quote again from the "official" biography of Kuroda that I mentioned above:

Kuroda obviously sought to employ both the new vision acquired during his time in France and the art materials used in France. Kuroda also brought a new attitude toward landscapes to the field of oil painting in Japan.

⁸ For example, the latest exhibition on Hakuba-kai was titled: *Hakubakai: Meiji Yōga no Shimpū (Starting Anew in the Meiji Period: A Retrospective Exhibition of Painting from the Hakubakai Group 1896-1911)*, held at Bridgestone Museum of Art, Ishibashi Foundation, National Museum of Modern Art, Kyoto and Ishibashi Museum of Art, Ishibashi Foundation, 1996-1997.

However, in my opinion, what was “new” in Kuroda's art has not in fact been fully explained as of yet. His authority has been nationally protected, and his work seems to have been immune to critical discussion among Japanese art historians until recently.⁹ Moreover, there has been scant analysis on his role in building a gendered system in Japanese art education,¹⁰ and his importance in establishing the male-centred art world in Japan needs to be discussed. Though some details of his biography have been written previously,¹¹ we need to take a fresh and critical look at his life to explore how the male-centred system in Japanese art was established.

1.2 Kuroda's family background

We shall begin by analysing his family background. He was adopted by his uncle, Kuroda Kiyotsuna's family shortly after his birth. Kuroda Kiyotsuna was a samurai of the *Satsuma-han* (Satsuma clan) under the Tokugawa shogunate, and fought against the Tokugawa army during the civil war to establish the Meiji government. He ranked as a high official in the Meiji government and was raised to the *Kazoku* (a status of the peerage established by the Meiji government). Brought up to succeed in such a prestigious family, Kuroda Seiki was to study law in Europe. When he was 18 years old, he went to Paris with one of his relatives, Hashiguchi Naoemon, who was appointed to the French Legation in Paris.

Kuroda sent an enormous quantity of letters to his parents throughout his long stay in Paris from 1884 to 1893. They have been published in *Kuroda Seiki*

⁹ I raised the question on the stereo-typed explanation of the organization of Hakubakai. See, Kojima, Kaoru. “*Hakubakai Seintsu no Imi ni tsuite no Ichi Shiron*” (An Investigation of the Formation of the White Horse Society), in *Kindai Gasesu*, no.5, 1997, pp. 108-124.

¹⁰ Bryson, Norman. “*Yōga and the Sexual Structure of Cultural exchange*” in *Human Figure in the Visual Arts of East Asia: International Symposium on the Preservation of Cultural property*, Tokyo, Tokyo National Research Institute of Cultural Properties, 1994, pp. 22-30. Kojima, Kaoru. “*Kuroda Seiki ni Miru Rataiga no Juyō to Sono Eikyō*” (Reception of Nude Paintings by Kuroda Seiki and its Impact), in *Jissen Joshi Daigaku Bigaku Bijutsushigaku* (The Review of Art History Department of Jissen Women's University, Tokyo), no. 14, 1999, pp.43-60.

¹¹ The home-page of National Research Institute for Cultural properties, Tokyo, provides quite detailed bibliographical information on Kuroda. ([http:// www.tobunken.go.jp/kuroda/archive/k_biblio/index.html](http://www.tobunken.go.jp/kuroda/archive/k_biblio/index.html).)

Nikki (Diaries of Kuroda Seiki),¹² and we can trace his daily life in detail through the accounts contained in these letters. Those who had been samurai of the *Satsuma-han* occupied good positions in the Meiji government, and young Kuroda was welcomed by Japanese officials from the former *Satsuma-han* in Paris. It is easy to notice from the account above that Kuroda mainly associated with masculine society life. He travelled to Paris with his male relative and associated with male Japanese officials. In those days, Japanese officials, except for the ministers, usually were not accompanied by their families when they stayed abroad.

One of the points that will be explored in this chapter is how Kuroda formed his gendered view on art in France. However, before proceeding further, we need to analyse how the patriarchal system that predominated in Japan during that period affected Kuroda's character. The fact that he chose different styles in his letters to his parents offers clear evidence of his consciousness of gendered social roles at that time in Japan. The letters to his father were written in *kanbun* (Chinese style), which was the formal style of writing used in official documents and letters since ancient times. He always began his letters with formal words of courtesy to his father. Those letters were usually not long, but their contents were mainly important issues about his relation to society as a whole, such as his progress in law studies, his change of course to art, and in some cases his philosophy on painting (fig. 1.1). In contrast, Kuroda mainly used *hiragana* (the Japanese cursive syllabary) in his letters to his mother, describing his life in Paris with wonderful detail in colloquial style. These letters were also flavoured with some dialectical expressions of his hometown. He often added drawings in these letters to illustrate French life (fig. 1.2).

As an example, here is an extract from a letter to his mother written on 23 July 1886.

¹² Kumamoto, Kenjiro. ed., *Kuroda Seiki Nikki (Diaries of Kuroda Seiki)*, vol.1, Tokyo: Chûôkōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 1966.

There was a big festival on 14 July in Paris. I had seen it twice already, and I wasn't interested in seeing it again, and I went to stay in a countryside village called Garche from the evening of 13 July with a friend of mine, Mr. Fuji, who came from Japan to study painting. A Western painter whom I know lives there. We were entertained at his house as well as at his neighbour's house on 14 July. After dinner, nine of us, the painter and his wife, husbands and wives from both sides of his house, another neighbour's wife, and we, all sat in the garden with 12 to 13 Japanese lanterns hung on the trees. While we were chatting away, the fireworks in Paris started, and we all went upstairs to see them. Then we came down to the garden again.¹³

A letter to his father on 28 May of the same year starts with quite formal phrases, asking about the family's health followed by this passage:

As I mentioned in the previous letter, I have finally decided to receive my training in painting. I paid a visit to M. Collin, a painter of a good reputation in Paris, to explain my purpose and I was accepted as his student. Under his instruction, I am sketching a classical sculpture in the Louvre, which is the biggest museum here. (...) I was ashamed of being of the yellow race, making unskillful drawings among a great many visitors. However, then I considered it as part of the training to become more courageous and it became a lot of fun to draw nonchalantly, acting as if I were a great

¹³ Kumamoto, Kenjirô. ed., *Kuroda Seiki Nikki*, vol.1, 1966, p. 63. The original text is as follows: 「さる十四日こちらのおまつりでした わたしはもう二どもみましたからことはみたたくなくふちといふにつばんからゑのけいこにきておるひと十三日のゆうがたからがるしゆと申ちかいいなかにとまりがけにてあすびにまいりました そのがるしゆと申ところにおわたしのしつておるせいようじんのゑかきがあります 十四日のひはそのひとのうちやまたそのとなりにおるひとのうちなどでごぜんのごちそうになりました ゆうめしごはそのゑかきがふうふそのほかりようどなりのふうふとわたくしたちふたりまたよそのおかみさんがひとりつがうあわせて九にんにてにわのうゑきにつぼんのつろ(筆者註: 原文ママ)を十二三もぶらさげはなしなどをしておるうちにぼりすではなびをあげだしましたからみんなで二かいにのぼりはなびのけんぶつをなしのちまたにわにいきました」

master.¹⁴

He confessed uneasiness as a stranger in Paris to his father, and at the same time, he proudly reported having overcome the associated difficulties. For Kuroda, each parent had an entirely different role. It is even evident from the different names he used to sign off his letters. He used “Seiki” in his letters to his father, and to his mother, he used his childhood names, “Shintarô,” or simply “Shinta.”

Chino Kaori pointed out that in the *Heian* period (794–1185), Japanese established the binary structure of *Kara* (China) and *Yamato* (Japan) and developed *hiragana* (the Japanese cursive syllabary).¹⁵ Chino explains that *kanji* (Chinese characters) and *hiragana* had different functions. Chinese characters were used in writing public documents, Chinese poems, Buddhist sutras, and official diaries whereas *hiragana* was used in composing Japanese poetry, fictional tales, and private diaries. Chinese characters, which were used for writing official documents, were called *otoko-de* (men’s hand); *hiragana*, which was used for writing private documents, was called *onna-de* (women’s hand). There was a distinctive concept of gender difference in the *Heian* period between *Kara* (China)/ masculine and *Yamato* (Japan)/ feminine. Chino argued that this gender structure changed in modern Japan.¹⁶ Taking the place that Chinese culture used to hold, the Western culture was now regarded as the “public/ masculine” sphere and, as she pointed out, Japan assumed a “masculine” identity only when it invaded other Asian countries.

As seen from letters to his parents, it is obvious that young Kuroda kept these premodern formulae in him as *kanji*/ public/ masculine/ paternity and

¹⁴Kumamoto, Kenjirô. ed., *Kuroda Seiki Nikki*, vol.1, 1966, pp. 60-61. The original text is as follows: 「先便より申上候通今度愈畫學修業ト相定メ去二十三日兼而存居候コラント申當地ニテ随分評番よき畫家へ目的ヲ述へ即チ弟子入仕候 依而同氏ノ指圖ニテルーブルト申當地第一ノ博物館ニ在ル石像ヲ折角寫居申候 (中略) 見物人ノ澤山有ル中ニテ黄色人種ナル上へヘタナ畫ヲかき居ルハ赤面ノ至ニ御座候得共是レモ膽ヲ大クスルノ一端ト存候得ば大先生ノ様ナ面ヲシテ平氣ニテ寫像スル等實ニ愉快ナル一件ニ御座候」

¹⁵ Chino, Kaori. “Gender in Japanese Art”, in *Aesthetics*, Tokyo: The Japanese Society for Aesthetics, no.7, March 1996, pp. 49-68.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p.62.

hiragana/ private/ feminine/ maternity. Kuroda was adopted into his uncle's family when he was five years old. In those days, the family name was only passed on patrilineally and the carrying on of the family name was given high priority. There is a photograph of Kuroda, which seems to have been taken when the family moved to Tokyo from Kagoshima (fig. 1.3). Here, we see Kuroda as a young boy in Western clothes with a hat and a Western-style umbrella clutched in his hand like a walking stick, standing squarely in front of the camera attended by his real mother and his foster mother together. They are still dressed in old-fashioned kimonos and sat behind him. From this photograph, we can see the roots of his coming to live in the public/ Western/ masculine world away from his mothers.

His experience of the "public" world away from his parents started with the journey he took to France with government official status. As he accompanied a male relative who had been appointed to work in the Japanese legation in Paris, they were received courteously as members of high officials on the way. It is clear from Kuroda's letters that he enjoyed his journey as a privileged passenger in European ships. In Hong Kong, he witnessed that Chinese citizens were discriminated against by the white people and realised the menace of the Western countries to Asia.¹⁷ On the other hand, Kuroda did not hide his racial prejudice against native people in South Asia. For example, after having visited a Buddhist temple in Colombo, he wrote to his mother, "You should stop going temples in Japan, because you are praying to a Negro."¹⁸ It seems that Kuroda's self-image had taken shape as a member of the Western people and he regarded Asian people as "others." However, as soon as he arrived in Paris, he realized that he was a stranger in Paris. He wrote to his mother as follows: "When we walk around the streets, men and women say, 'Look at these Chinese!' and gaze at us."¹⁹ In France, he was only a young

¹⁷ Kumamoto, Kenjiro, ed., *Kuroda Seiki Nikki*, vol.1, 1966, pp.6-7.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.9.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.17.

Asian. He needed to enter a kind of preparatory school before he went to study law and he received supplementary lessons in French. However, it did not take long before he had gotten a foothold into the Western world. It was “art.”

Kuroda did not intend to be painter, but his encounter with Japanese artists in Paris changed his life. Among them, a painter named Fuji Masazō (1853-1916) guided Kuroda into the art world. Fuji first studied at the *Kōbu Bijutsu Gakkō* for a short time and then had gone to Paris. Fuji was the first Japanese painter after Goseda Yoshimatsu to exhibit his works in the Salon. Fuji accompanied Kuroda with Kume on excursions to the suburbs of Paris and taught Kuroda sketching.²⁰ Spending holidays with Fuji, Kuroda came to have confidence in himself as a painter. Encouraged by another Japanese painter in Paris, Yamamoto Hōsui, Kuroda entered the *Academy Colarossi* in May of 1886. There he studied under Raphaël Collin, of whom Fuji was already a student. Kuroda met a young student there who had recently arrived from Japan named Kume Keiichirō (1866-1934), and the two formed a life-long friendship. They were both brought up in wealthy families and had plenty of time to enjoy their lives in France, or more precisely, the lives of young male artists.

Letters from Kuroda to his family and a diary by Kume show how frequently they visited each other. The two men enjoyed studying at the Academy together. In fact, Kuroda and Kume even shared an apartment at 88 Boulevard de Port Royal on April 8, 1887.²¹ Kuroda rented an atelier at 26, rue Favorite in 1888.²² Kuroda and Kume moved again to an apartment at 1 rue Cervantes (now, 54 rue Bague) in November 1889 and stayed there until they left Paris. There is a painting by Kuroda depicting Kume from the time that they shared their atelier (fig. 1.4). Here, Kume is sitting in front of an easel and there are some drawings at the foot of the easel. The room is spacious and bright with sunlight

²⁰ Miwa, Hideo. ed., *Kume Keiichirō Nikki (Diaries of Kume Keiichirō)*, Tokyo: Chūōkōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 1990, p. 80.

²¹ Kumamoto, Kenjirō. ed., *Kuroda Seiki Nikki*, vol.1, 1966, p. 81-82.

²² Kume, Keiichirō. “*Futsukoku Shūgaku jidai no Kuroda kun to Sono Seisaku*” (Memory of Mr. Kuroda while he studied in Paris), in *Chūōbijutsu*, vol.10, no.12, December, 1924, pp. 68-76.

streaming through large windows. It shows that this room was an atelier where artists are working. There is a folding screen in the corner of the room, and Japanese drawings and works of calligraphy are attached. It seems that Kuroda proudly depicted two Japanese living as artists in Paris.

The homosocial lives of Japanese art students continued with occasional newcomers from Japan, even after Fuji left the group because of his marriage to a French woman. By the time Kuroda and Kume had seriously focused on the effort of exhibiting their works in the Salon, they were well associated with American and British colleagues. With them, they joined the artists' colonies that were often visited by foreigners, including Fontainebleau, Grez-sur-Loing, Bréhat, and others. Kuroda made friends with an American painter named Walter Griffin (1861-1935) at Academy Colarossi. Griffin rented an atelier near Kuroda's and they visited Fontainebleau together. An English painter named Clarence Bard was also a good friend of Kuroda and they often spent summers in the countryside together with Kume and Griffin. A photograph of the four taken in a photo studio shows their intimate atmosphere very well (fig. 1.5).²³ They shared the life of "bohemians" who were away from the big city. However, before proceeding further, what Kuroda learned about art in France should be analysed.

1.3 The art of Raphaël Collin and its reception by Kuroda

We have previously analysed how Kuroda developed his masculine identity within the patriarchal society of Meiji Japan. This social context provided him the relatively easy option of joining a masculine camaraderie of young male artists. We will now turn to a discussion of how he formed his ideas

²³ Kuroda, Seiki. "Kyûyû Kurarensu Bâdo" (My Old Friend Clarence Bard), in *Kaiga no Shôrai (Future of Japanese Paintings)*, Tokyo: Chûôkôron Bijutsu Shuppan, 1983: pp. 207-212. Kuroda, Seiki. "Nijû-yo nen mae no Barubizon Mura" (Twenty-Something Years Ago in Barbizon), in *Kaiga no Shôrai*, pp. 224-231. On their relationship with Kuroda, see Arayashiki, Tôru. "Barbizon no Kuroda Seiki: Gaka Griffin tonô Kôyû o Megutte" (Seiki Kuroda and Walter Griffin: Two Plein-air Painters in Barbizon), in *Geijutsugaku*, Tokyo: Mita Society for the Science of Arts, no.1, 1997, pp. 91-99. Arayashiki, Tôru. *Gurê Shuru Rowan ni Kakaru Hashi: Kuroda Seiki, Asai Chû to Furansu Geijutsuka-mura*, (Grez-sur-Loing and Japan: Kuroda Seiki and Asai Chû), Tokyo: Pola Bunka Kenkyûjo, 2005.

about art while he studied in the Academy Colarossi under Raphaël Collin.

A letter written by Kuroda in Paris on 17 April 1890 addressed to his father has been repeatedly cited by his biographers. In it, he explained to his father what he thought about French art, using examples of two paintings by his teacher, Raphaël Collin:

Here in France, one can express a kind of idea with a human figure. Taking examples of the paintings of my teacher, one is a painting with a title meaning spring, which represents a stark-naked beautiful woman lying on flowery fields with a stem of a grass between her teeth. Another is entitled "Summer," in which he depicted many women, some of whom were picking up flowers, putting them in their hair, reclining, standing and bathing in the pond. Only one who has a very refined taste and has sufficient skills can make such paintings. (...) One might think that naked figures are embarrassing, but such a notion is for unintelligent people. What is really embarrassing is to have such an idea. There is no other existence in this world that is so delicately made as a human being. It is my greatest pleasure to see a person with an ideal body, much more than to see a most beautiful flower. When uneducated people see the painting by my teacher depicting a beautiful woman under a title with a meaning such as "Spring," they might think that it's just a naked woman rolling around in the grass and then someone could make the unenlightened judgment that a tropical native woman might be seen like this but in Europe women don't lie around naked in the grass. However, what my teacher intended to represent here was his idea of spring, and he painted the body of a beautiful woman like a flower just about to bloom. This idea of spring exists only in one's mind, and when those who have the same values as my teacher look at the picture, they can really find an

indescribable happiness.²⁴

Judging from Kuroda's description, "a painting with a title meaning spring" must be *Floréal (Flowery Month)* (fig. 1.6), 1886, which was purchased by the French government. Kuroda had the opportunity to see this painting at the Luxembourg Museum while he stayed in Paris. The painting titled *l'Eté (Summer)* is the work that Collin showed at Salon in 1884, which is now in the collection of the Göteborg Konstmuseum in Sweden (fig. 1.7).

Among Japanese art historians, this letter has been cited to explain Kuroda's understanding of Western art. For example, Takashina Shûji explained that here Kuroda argued the importance of expressing certain ideas with composed figures based on life study in academic art. Takashina called the kind of paintings that Kuroda aimed at as "*Kôshô-ga*" (a painting with composition), and regarded *Mukashi-gatari (Talk on Ancient Romance)* (1896) (fig. 1.8) by Kuroda as a good example of "*Kôshô-ga*".²⁵ However, gender and sexuality in Kuroda's art needs further analysis. We will examine what he learned from his teacher.

Louis Joseph Raphaël Collin (1850-1916) is now an almost forgotten artist in French art history, but he was fairly popular while he was alive. He studied at *Ecole des Beaux-Arts*, first under Adolphe William Bouguereau (1825-1905)

²⁴ Kumamoto, Kenjirô, ed., *Kuroda Seiki Nikki*, vol.1, 1966, pp.166-167. The original text in Japanese is as follows:

「當地にて八人の體を以て何ニか一の考を示す事有之候。先づ私の教師の畫を見ても春と云様なる題にて草花の咲き出て居る中ニ丸はだかの美人がねて居りながら何ニ心なく草葉を取りて口ニくわへたる様をかき又夏の圖として數多の女が圖中にて或ハ花を摘み或ハそれを頭ニかざしねたるもあれバ立たるも有り又池中ニ遊び居る者もありと云畫をかき候。此等の圖ハ餘程氣分高尚ニして且筆がよくきゝ候ハでハ出來難き者ニ御座候。(中略)一寸考へ候時ハ裸體の人物と云てハ甚だ不體裁な者の如く有之候得共之レハ全く俗人の考にて其考こそ却而不體裁なる者ニ御座候。凡そ天地間の生物中人間程奇麗ニよく出來居る者ハ有之間敷候。而其人間中の最も完全なる者を見る時ハ此の上もなき愉快を覺る事花の最も美なる者を見るよりも一層の事と奉存候。教師が美人を畫て春と題したるを心得なき人ハ見て只草の上ニはだかの女がねころび居るかなと思ひ熱帯地方の野蠻人ハともかくも歐洲などにて女が裸體にて芝原ニ臥すると云事ハなしなどゝ色々馬鹿な評を下す可く候。併し教師ハ春の心地を畫きたるにて今咲き初めたる花と云様な美人の體を畫きたる也。即ち此の春ハ人の精神中ニのみ存する春にして教師と同じ感じを持ちたる人が此の圖を見る時ハ云ニ云ハれぬ愉快を覺る事ニ御座候。」

²⁵ Takashina, Shûji. "Kuroda Seiki to 'Kôshô-ga'" (Kuroda Seiki and Composition), in *Kindai Gasettsu*, no. 1, 1992, p.125.

and then under Alexandre Cabanel (1823-89).²⁶ Both are known for paintings with female nudes of mythological subjects. Two characteristic examples, *La naissance of Vénus (The Birth of Venus)* (1863) (fig. 1.9) by Cabanel and *La naissance of Vénus (The Birth of Venus)* (1879) (fig. 1.10) by Bouguereau are both housed in the Musée d'Orsay. They represent idealized female nudes as Venus. The women (both Venus) expose their naked bodies to viewers whom they themselves cannot see. We can easily point out that here the painters represented sexualised female bodies under the male gaze.

Collin's first success at Salon was in 1873 with *Sommeil (Sleep)* (fig. 1.11), which was awarded the second price and was purchased for 3,000 francs by the French government.²⁷ Collin's *Sommeil* shows a reclining female nude sleeping with the sheet clinging only to her feet on a bed covered with an animal fur. Viewers can gaze at her body without her looking back. Although the depiction of the interior is quite vague, the woman seems to sleep in a bedroom, and she is not Venus as Cabanel represented in his works. *Sommeil* has common elements with a type of painting known as *peintures de boudoir* that were established in the 18th century in France.²⁸ Characteristic of this style is the depiction of women in their bedroom dressing, or at their toilet as if the viewer were peering in on them.

After the success with *Sommeil*, Collin constantly exhibited paintings at Salon, most of which depicted female nudes in pastoral settings. The French government purchased his works from Salon in 1875, 1877 and also *Floréal* in 1886. Collin rejected offers from the Ministry of Arts to purchase his works in 1884 (*l'Eté*), 1889, 1890 and 1893, because he had already sold them to private collectors.²⁹

²⁶ The first retrospective exhibition of Collin was held in 1999-2000 in Japan, and biographical data on Collin is based on this catalogue. See, exhibition catalogue, Fukuoka Art Museum ed., *Raphaël Collin*, Fukuoka: Nishi Nihon Shimbunsha, 1999, p.195-208.

²⁷ Fukuoka Art Museum ed., *Raphaël Collin*, 1999, p.196.

²⁸ Kitazaki, Chikashi. "Miserareru Rafu to Fûkei, Kûrube no 'Nemureru Rafu' ni miru manazashi no Kanyû" (Displayed Nude and Landscape: Metonymy of the Gaze of Courbet's *Sleeping Nude*), in *Kokuritsu Seiyô Bijutsukan Kenkyû Kiyô (Journal of The National Museum of Western Art)*, no.2, March 1998, pp. 55-72.

²⁹ Fukuoka Art Museum ed., *Raphaël Collin*, 1999, pp.196-201.

L'Été follows a tradition of academic style by representing idealized human nudes as bathers and by its composition on a large-scale format. However, it does not illustrate any historical or mythological scene.³⁰ Collin depicted only female nudes, not male bathers in a utopian or pastoral field. Such a setting and format for the painting was intended to give viewers the impression that the women were naked because they were not of this earth. This idea is supported by their uniformly idealised and expressionless female figures, which completely lack individuality. Compared to *l'Été*, *Floréal* is smaller in size and it only has a single figure. In this painting, the painter had already abandoned the composition of history painting, yet *Floréal* also has water in the background. This effort seems to be reminiscent of the “bathing” theme that was used in *l'Été*.

Bruno Foucart pointed out that Collin belonged to a group of artists who pursued ideal representation of antiquity or the mythological world, while Fernand Cormon depicted a scene of prehistoric age in *Retour d'une chasse à l'ours à l'époque des cavernes* (*The Return from the Bear Hunting in the Cave Period*) in 1884 (Musée d'Orsay), which was based on recent scientific research.³¹ However, in an age when realism dominated French art, Collin's representation of pastoral scenes sometimes puzzled French art critics. Foucart noted that when *Floréal* was exhibited at the Salon, some critics questioned, “Should it have been much hotter to show bathers?”³² or “Considering the fresh and green fields, it should be titled ‘Spring,’ not ‘Summer.’”³³ Collin's contemporaries were even aware that female nudes by Collin seemed quite “modern” in spite of the archaic settings. C. Blanc wrote that women depicted in

³⁰ Leighton, John; Thomson, Richard. “Seurat's Choices: The Bathers and its Contexts”, in *Seurat and the Bathers*, London: National Gallery Publications, 1997, p. 102.

³¹ Foucart, Bruno. “*La petite musique de Raphaël Collin*” (Faint Music of Raphaël Collin), in Fukuoka Art Museum ed., *Raphaël Collin*, p.221.

³² Ibid. p.221. Foucart cited text by Henry Havard as follows: “et le titre du tableau, un peu plus de chaleur eût-il été nécessaire?”.

³³ Ibid. p.221. Foucart cited text by Paul Mantz as follows: “*Été* devait s'appeler le printemps si du moins l'on tient compte de la fraîcheur des verdure plus voisines de floréal que de messidor”.

Collin's *L'Été* had faces of "des grisettes" (humble working girls).³⁴ This old French term, *des grisettes*, implied that they were loose women.

Jacque Thuillier wrote that female nudes by Collin depict women who are "fragile, spiritual, who seemed to be his contemporaries. They are not taken from antique art in the Louvre or works by Poussin: they are naked women, quite young, vivid and smiling like Parisians."³⁵ Robert Rosenblum pointed out that the anatomies of female nudes in *Au bord la mer (At the Seaside)* (1892) (fig. 1.12) by Collin "speak of a more time-bound erotic taste" in spite of its mythic setting.³⁶ Historically, display of paintings of female nudes caused controversy in Europe. Academic art deliberately "idealised" representations of female body, and as Kenneth Clark suggested, "nude" became an artistic issue in the 19th century.³⁷ However, if female nudes were shown in too realistic a manner or were shown in contemporary settings, such paintings were regarded as less decent. In England, John Everett Millais (1829-96) realistically represented a woman who had been made naked by robbers in *The Knight Errant* (1870), and the painting caused a huge furore.³⁸ In France, *Rolla* (1878) by Henri Gervex was refused by Salon because it showed a contemporary prostitute in nude. However, the censorship administration of the French government dissolved in 1881,³⁹ and disputes over female nudes in art settled down in the 1890s. In the case of Collin, he was still careful to finish female nudes with an academic technique but he did not hide the reality that he painted models of his contemporary Parisians. "Time-bound erotic taste" seemed to characterise his paintings. Norman Bryson argued as follows:

³⁴ Miura, Atsushi. "Dessin pour l'Été" (*Drawings for Summer*), in Fukuoka Art Museum ed., *Raphaël Collin*, p. 246.

³⁵ Thuillier, Jacque. "Raphaël Collin", in the Bridgeston Museum of Art and Mie Prefectural Art Museum ed., *Nihon Yōga no Kyōshō to Furansu (Master Painters of Modern Japan and France)*, Tokyo: The Tokyo Shimbun, 1983, p.208. The original text is as follows: "(Raphaël Collin) crée un nu féminin mince, fragile, spirituel, qui apparaît l'un des types de son siècle. Ses nudités ne sont pas tirées des antiques du Louvre ou Poussin: ce sont des femmes déshabillées, mais toutes jeunes, fines, vives et gardant leur sourire parisien."

³⁶ Rosenblum, Robert. "Art in 1900: Twilight or Dawn?," in Rosenblum, Robert; Stevens, Mary Ann. ed., *Art in 1900: Art at the Crossroads*, London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2000, p.49.

³⁷ Clark, Kenneth. *The Nude: a Study of Ideal Art*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1960.

³⁸ Smith, Alison. ed., *Exposed: The Victorian Nude*, London: Tate Publishing, 2001.

³⁹ Dawkins, Heather. *The Nude in French Art and Culture, 1870-1910*, Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002, pp.16-26.

By divesting his figures of narrative as well as clothing, Collin loses all of the alibis and pretexts that enabled Gérôme to navigate his way through bourgeois respectability, and hypocrisy. With Collin the only reason one can think of for the nudity is that this is “art”; art itself is now a sufficient cause for the unveiling of the female form before the masculine gaze. In Collin the basic visual power relation between the male subject of the gaze and the female object for that gaze emerges with unqualified directness.⁴⁰

In the letter cited earlier, Kuroda wrote to his father that looking at the naked female figure is not embarrassing because it symbolized an idea of spring. In other words, Kuroda explained that one could gaze at female nudes in paintings when they were “art.” Kuroda learned from Collin such a gendered structure in contemporary French art. Of course, Collin was not the only artist who represented such a visual power relationship in Western art. Linda Need has discussed how Western high art and aesthetics has framed the female nude under the male gaze.⁴¹ However, male art critics and art historians were aware that Collin’s female nudes revealed something real and suggestive, in spite of their archaic settings. Kuroda confessed that he felt “an indescribable happiness” upon seeing such naked female figures. Though was not aware himself, he learned the expression of sexuality in Collin’s paintings as well as the ideas of academic art. However, one problem with Kuroda was that he seemed to confuse his “happiness” of seeing female nudity with an impression left by art. He came to be convinced that female nudity was an essential element in art. After his return to Japan, he made a great effort to promote the female nude in painting, as we will discuss later.

⁴⁰ Bryson, Norman. “Yōga and the Sexual Structure of Cultural exchange”, in *Human Figure in the Visual Arts of East Asia: International Symposium on the Preservation of Cultural property*, 1994, p.23.

⁴¹ Need, Linda. *The Female Nude, Art, Obscenity and Sexuality*, London; New York: Routledge, 1992.

1.4 Female images by Kuroda

Bryson was the first art historian who openly analysed the issue of the sexuality of Japanese male art students. He showed a photograph of Kume Keiichirô in an atelier with a naked model (fig. 1.13), and pointed out the following:

For Japanese artists the model might be the first naked Western body they had seen, and her presence at the life class ensured that a student from even so distant a land as Japan would be absorbed, together with his fellow students, into the masculine camaraderie of the studio. The libidinal currents of the life class spelt fraternity, the comradeship between men as men, equalized before the naked woman was there for all of them in the same way.⁴²

There were very few opportunities for Japanese art students to practice life study with nude models in that period, so the experience at the life class in Paris must have had quite a major impact on them. Though Japanese art students did not write about their “libidinal currents of the life class” themselves, it may be because they were not aware of it. Nevertheless, Kuroda confessed that he had an “indescribable happiness” with looking at *Floréal* by Collin. He explained that it was because he had the same values as his teacher. The “indescribable happiness” may be rephrased as “libidinality,” which enabled him to assimilate with the Western art world. Photos of him with Western friends of the Academy testified to the fact that he had joined the masculine camaraderie of art students, which enabled him to forget the cultural difference between them. His male-centred social background in Japan and his homosocial life in Paris, to which we have already alluded, surely provided him with easy access

⁴² Bryson, Norman. “Yôga and the Sexual Structure of Cultural exchange”, in *Human Figure in the Visual Arts of East Asia: International Symposium on the Preservation of Cultural property*, 1994, p.24.

to the masculine camaraderie.

Kuroda's first work depicting a professional model was titled *Mandorin o moteru On'na* (*Woman with a Mandolin*) (1890-91) (fig. 1.14).⁴³ He sent it to the Salon with another work titled *Dokusho* (*Reading*) (1891) (fig.1.15), and only the latter passed the Salon with the title *Lecture en été*. Kuroda wrote to his father about *Mandorin o moteru On'na* that he intended to express "a woman just about to wake up" by painting a woman holding a mandolin. Here, a half-naked woman is holding a mandolin looking to the side with listless eyes. Norman Bryson pointed out that "the eroticism of the figure belongs to the new narrative of bohemian Paris and the pleasure of the artist's life."⁴⁴ The unnatural situation shows that she is a professional model for artists and posing in an atelier. Bryson argued that the pillow and mandolin may be props, but they added a kind of erotic implication.⁴⁵ It seems that Kuroda illustrated such a structure of Western art in this painting. A female model is naked because she was posing for an artist in an atelier, and that this was justified because a male artist may gaze at a naked female body for the sake of art. Therefore, he explored the subject of "a nude model in the atelier" in this painting. After Kuroda returned to Japan, his students at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts repeatedly worked on a female topic titled "a nude model in the atelier." As Bryson pointed out, the financial relationship of a painter employing a model and then having this set the stage for a voluntary act of love was an ideal result for the painter.⁴⁶ Bryson called this "the bohemian fantasy." However, such fantasies of "love" between male Japanese painters and European female models were sometimes told as real love affairs later.

Kuroda stayed in Grez-sur-Loing from 1890 to 1892. He rented a small farmhouse from a peasant family, and worked on many paintings with a girl

⁴³ Kumamoto, Kenjiro. ed., *Kuroda Seiki Nikki*, vol.1, 1966, pp.163-166.

⁴⁴ Bryson, Norman. "Yōga and the Sexual Structure of Cultural exchange", in *Human Figure in the Visual Arts of East Asia: International Symposium on the Preservation of Cultural property*, 1994, p. 24.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 25.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 25.

named Maria as a model. After Kuroda's death, on the occasion of '*Kuroda Shishaku Tsuikai Danwaka*' (Memorial Talk on Viscount Kuroda) in 1924, attendants were curious about the relationship between Kuroda and Maria.⁴⁷ Kume Keiichirô responded that he had never heard about the true nature of their relationship from Kuroda. Nevertheless, most of the attendants surmised that they were in love.

Some researchers agreed with this conclusion and pursued the story of romance. Haga Tôru was convinced that Kuroda and Maria were in love because of stories that told of such events as Kuroda bringing Maria presents and Maria making meals for him, among others.⁴⁸ Hirakawa Sukehiro researched family registers at a public office in Grez and revealed Maria's profile. Her name was Maria Billault, and she was born in 1870 and died in 1960.⁴⁹ Yamanashi Emiko argued that Kuroda was seriously in love with Maria, and she pointed out that he compared his passion for the humble girl with a story of tragic love titled *Graziella* by Alphonse Lamartine.⁵⁰ We do not need to discuss now whether they were truly in love; what is interesting is that Japanese viewers wanted to believe that such a sexual relationship between Kuroda and his favourite model actually took place.

Kuroda painted Maria in interior settings several times. *Harishigoto* (*Sewing*) (1890) (fig. 1.16) is an early example. *Dokusho* (1891) was accepted by the Salon and now is quite well known among the Japanese. "Sewing woman" and "reading woman" were popular subjects of the Salon at that time. A woman in *Dokusho* is shown in close-up. She is utterly defenceless to the viewer's gaze though she seems to sit very close to the painter. We can imagine that the artist painted her sitting near at hand. Though the male artist gazed at her from such a short distance, she appeared to be totally

⁴⁷ Kuroda, Seiki. *Kaiga no Shôrai*, 1983, pp. 311-312.

⁴⁸ Haga, Tôru. *Kaiga no Ryôbun* (*Territory of Paintings*), Tokyo: Asahi Shimbunsha, 1984, p. 297.

⁴⁹ Hirakawa, Sukehiro. "Kuroda Seiki no Moderu Maria" (The Model of Kuroda named Maria), in *Bungakukai*, May 1981, pp. 14-15. Haga, Tôru. *Kaiga no Ryôbun*, 1984, pp. 304-307.

⁵⁰ Yamanashi, Emiko. "Kuroda Seiki no Sakuhin to Seiyô Bungaku" (Western Literature and the Works by Seiki Kuroda), in *Bijutsu Kenkyû*, no.349, March 1991, pp. 91-107.

unconcerned, presumably because she was posing for the artist as a model. However, Japanese viewers may have imagined that the physical closeness of the painter and the model reflected their intimate relationship in real life.

Kume attested that Kuroda went to Paris from Grez to buy the red blouse that Maria wears in "Reading."⁵¹ Kume reported that Kuroda made efforts to keep Maria posing for him and bought her such presents. This episode was often taken as proof of Kuroda's affection for Maria. However, even if Kuroda bought such presents for her to please her, it only means that Kuroda paid Maria for her becoming his model. It reflected the power relationship between a male artist and a female model. Their relationship seems to be an example of "the bohemian fantasy."

Let us go back to the painting. In *Dokusho*, the red colour of her blouse is quite effective, as was her golden hair set against the bright summer sunlight through a louvered window and its lacy curtains. She had rosy cheeks from the reflection of her blouse. The colour of her face also gives the impression that she blushes at the story that she is reading. Her fingers are ready to turn the page. Viewers find here a young girl absorbed in reading. If we contrast this painting with *Harishigoto*, the same model is shown in a different way. She soberly wears greyish high-necked clothes. The whole canvas is unified with a cool tone, and we have the impression that she is a modest housewife occupied with domestic duties. In *Dokusho*, however, the red blouse with a plunging neckline makes her look plump and healthy, but naïve. Janis Bergman-Carton analyzed the images of *la liseuse moderne* under the July monarchy, and pointed out that there is a group of painting that represented a woman "characterized as a mindless sponge absorbing dangerous lessons from novels and ignoring maternal and spousal duties."⁵² Kuroda tried to follow this type of painting in *Dokusho* and he must have carefully selected the red blouse. While

⁵¹ "Kuroda Shisyaku Tsuikai Danwaki" (Memorial Talk on Viscount Kuroda), in Kuroda, Seiki. *Kaiga no Shōrai*, 1983, pp. 311-312.

⁵² Bergman-Carton, Janis. *The Woman of Ideas in French Art, 1830-1848*, New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1995, p. 111.

he deliberately took up a subject commonly used by French painters to portray French female models, he signed his name in Japanese. He followed a suggestion from his teacher that he should make it obvious that the painter was a non-European.⁵³ The idea behind this was that when this painting was shown at the Salon, viewers would be able to recognize how well a student from a different culture had mastered French art. Though the authority of the Salon had waned by that time, acceptance by the Salon meant for Kuroda that he had been received as a member of French society.

Kuroda sent two paintings to the Salon the following year, but they were rejected. Before his return to Japan in 1893, he sent a painting titled *le Levé* with a female nude to a new Salon, Le Salon de la Société nationale des Beaux-arts, which was established in 1890. It was now called in Japanese *Chôshô* (*Morning Toilet*) (fig. 1.17), which depicted a naked woman standing in front of a mirror from behind. Such a representation of a naked woman before a mirror was quite common in the Salon paintings, and it is likely that Kuroda carefully chose this subject so that it would be accepted to the Salon⁵⁴. This composition enables the viewer to gaze at the woman's body as if he is peering into a private room. Tan'o Yasunori pointed out that a plate of "Morning Toilet" was printed in the book *Les Nu au Salon* (*Nudes at the Salon*), edited by Armand Sylvestre in 1893.⁵⁵ Sylvestre annually published a book with the same title, collecting photos of paintings with female nudes at the Salon. He added a kind of poem to Kuroda's work: "She shows coquetry alone in front of a mirror. Her heavy hair tied into a bun above her amber nape. Even the mirror image is revealing what she is hiding by turning her back to us. She is not aware that we are here."⁵⁶ This text shows that the French critic saw here an eroticised representation of a female nude. This means that Kuroda's painting imitated

⁵³ Kumamoto, Kenjiro. ed., *Kuroda Seiki Nikki*, vol.1, 1966, p.199.

⁵⁴ Tan'o, Yasunori. "Chôshô shûi kô" (An Additional Study on 'Morning Toilette', in *Waseda Daigaku Daigakuin Bungaku Kenkûka Kiyô* (*Bulletin of faculty of Literature of Waseda University*), 1997, pp. 149-163.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ibid. p. 153.

well the power relation between male viewers and a naked female body in such paintings. The success of this painting again assured him membership in French society.

When Kuroda showed this painting in Japan at the fourth *Naikoku Kangyô Hakurankai* (National Industrial Exhibition), it aroused great controversy. The Japanese police asked him to withdraw the painting from the exhibition. Kuroda angrily wrote to his friend as follows:

I cannot think of any reason to abandon nude painting. There is nothing wrong with the international standard of aesthetics. It is actually necessary and should be promoted for the sake of the future of Japanese art. (...) I don't care what the masses with no hope ahead of them say. By the nature of things, I win. Whatever happens, I am prepared to act in line with that painting.⁵⁷

As we have already discussed, what he called “the international standard of aesthetics” was only a male-centred power relationship in art that he acquired in France. Even in France, the decency of paintings of female nudes and their reproductions had been in dispute until the 1880s.⁵⁸ However, Kuroda confessed that his mission was to promote nude paintings in Japan for the sake of art. He introduced life study when he became a professor in the department of Western art in the Tokyo School of Fine Arts, which opened in 1896.⁵⁹ As the *Kôbu Bijutsu Gakkô* did not have a life class, it was the first attempt to have life study in Japanese art education at a national art school.

⁵⁷ Kuroda, Seiki. “*Kôfû*” *Hizume no Ato Shoshû Shokan* (Letters published in ‘Traks of Hooves’ in *Kôfû*), in Kuroda, Seiki. *Kaiga no Shôrai*, 1983. p.273. The original text in Japanese is as follows: 「世界普通のエステチツクは勿論日本の美術の将来に取つても裸体画の悪いと云事は決してない悪いどころか必要なのだ大に奨励す可きだ（中略）今多数のお先真暗連が何とぬかそうと構つた事は無い道理上オレが勝だよ兎も角オレはあの画と進退を共にする覚悟だ。」

⁵⁸ Dawkins, Heather. *The Nude in French Art and Culture, 1870-1910*, 2002, pp.16-30.

⁵⁹ Before Kuroda opened the life study classes in the Tokyo School of Fine Arts, there were a few examples of hiring nude models at private institutions. See, Teshigawara, Jun. *Ratai-ga no Reimei* (*A Dawn of Nude Paintings*), Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Shimbunsha, 1986.

Chapter 2 Formation of Masculine Camaraderie in Japan

2.1 Controversies over the female nude in Japan

The controversy over Kuroda's *Chôshô* (*Morning Toilette*) was not the first debate about nude paintings in Japan. When a short story by Yamada Mimyô titled "*Kochô*" (*Butterfly*) was published in a magazine in January 1889,¹ an illustration for the story by Watanabe Seitei (1851-1918) caused an uproar.² The story was published in the magazine *Kokumin-no Tomo* (*The Nation's Friend*), which was modeled after an American magazine called *The Nation*. *Kochô* is the name of a heroine in the story, which is set in twelfth century Japan. The drawing by Seitei depicts a samurai gazing at *Kochô*, who had just come out of the water in the nude (fig. 2.1). It has been established that Seitei's illustration was based on a painting titled *Enya Takasada no Tsuma Shutsu-yoku no zu* (*Wife of Enya Takasada after a Bath*), which was by his teacher, Kikuchi Yôsai, in 1842 (fig. 2.2). The subject was taken from a popular story in which the wife of Enya Takasada was so beautiful that his boss went to peer in on her taking a bath. The story, as well as the Biblical episode of Bathsheba, served as ways to legitimise the inclusion of female nudes in paintings. The woman became the samurai's wife after the incident in the story. The eroticism in Seitei's illustration of *Kochô* is obvious to its readers.

The drawing by Seitei is of a scene in which the heroine *Kochô* emerged from the water. The author described her appearance:

Here stands a beautiful woman in the nude! It is as if we are looking at a living picture, in which nature has made an elaborate composition of water and earth. Her body is composed of wavy lines that are the essence of art.

¹ Yamada, Mimyô. "*Kochô*", in *Kokumin no Tomo* (*Friends of the Nation*), Tokyo: Seibundô, no. 37, January 1899, pp. 41-53.

² There have been many articles on this controversy, and I have previously summarized them in my article. See, Kojima, Kaoru. "On 'The Beauty of Waving Line' of Nude Paintings in Meiji Period", in *Jissen Joshi Daigaku Bigaku Bijutsushigaku*, December, 2002, pp. 31-50.

How noble! True beauty is this kind of noble beauty.³

Though the story is set in the twelfth century, the author described Kochô's nude as a living picture. As was often pointed out in modern Western art, the female nude was connected with nature. The dispute over this illustration began in the readers' column of *the Yomiuri Shimbun* (*The Yomiuri Journal*).

Contributors used pseudonyms and their true names were all unknown except for Mori Ôgai. He was an army surgeon by profession who studied in Germany, but was active as an art critic and novelist. However, other contributors seem to also have had some knowledge about Western art. The first letter to the readers' column pointed out satirically that Seitei's illustration could not possibly express such beauty as Mimyô described. Other contributors admitted that the female nude was commonly represented in Western art. The main point of contention was whether representing Japanese female body in such a manner as Seitei could be considered as artistic as the expressions of idealized female nudes in Western art. The arguments were unable to reach consensus and the editor ended coverage of the debate. However, the discussion continued in other media involving scholars and literati.

Ozaki Kôyô, a rival of Yamada Mimyô, published a short story in the *Yomiuri Journal* in November of the same year. The title was "*Ra-bijin*" (*A Naked Beauty*) and its beginning is as follows:

How beautiful wavy lines are! How beautiful wavy lines are! The naked body of a woman made with excellent combinations of wavy lines is the essence of beauty! Yes, this is true. I am an artist who has been devoted to "the Naked Beauty."⁴

³ Yamada, Mimyô, "*Kochô*", p. 46. The original text is as follows: 「水と土とをば「自然」が巧に取合はせた一幅の活きた畫の中にまた美術の神髓とも言ふべき曲線でうまく組み立てられた裸体の美人が居るのですものを。あゝ高尚。眞の『美』は即ち眞の『高尚』です。」

⁴ Ozaki, Kôyô. "*Ra-bijin*" (*A Naked Beauty*), in Ozaki, Kôyô. *Kôyô Zenshû* (*The Complete Works of Kôyô*) vol. 1, 1994, Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, p.297. (First published in *the Yomiuri Journal* on 22 and 23

In this story, the artist has just married and asked his wife to be present in the nude at their wedding party because he wanted to show his guests that the beauty of the female nude was the most essential object in art. His wife ran away during the night and the story ends there. The story seems to ridicule those who believed that the female nude is the most important subject in Western art. Japanese art critics and artists who studied Western art (including Kuroda) who were still in Paris at that time, believed that the female nude but not the male nude was an essential object in art. However, general audiences in Japan were aware of the sexual desire inherent in the male gaze at female nudity.

Ozaki Kôyô wrote another story on an oil painter and a model titled “*Muki-Tamago*” (*A Boiled Egg without a Shell*) in 1889,⁵ with imagery that suggests the naked body of a young woman. This title offers us insight into how people in Meiji Japan regarded an oil painter and how they gazed at a painting of a female nude and its model. In this story, an oil painter who had studied in France wanted to hire a female nude model but he could not. He hired a poor girl as a house maid and later persuaded her to model for him. He used this opportunity to complete a female nude painting and showed it in an exhibition. The painting attracted great curiosity and a rich old man even proposed to her to be his lover. It was as though the writer anticipated the controversy over Kuroda’s *Chôshô*. However, the model fell in love with the painter and they later married. This story serves to demonstrate the power structure that existed between the male artist and the female model. Aside from becoming a prostitute or a nude model, the poor girl had no other way to support her family. Though her effort was rewarded by marriage with the artist, this was a kind of

November, 1889.) The original text in Japanese is as follows: 「曲線美！曲線美！曲線の好配合から成り立つところの、女人の裸体は美の神髄である！あい、あい、左様でござい。我は美術家の某とて、夙に「裸美宗」に帰依するものなり。」

⁵ Ozaki, Kôyô. “*Muki Tamago*” (*Boiled Egg without Shell*), in Ozaki, Kôyô. *Kôyô Zenshû* (*The Complete Works of Kôyô*) vol. 2, 1994, Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, p. 227-293. (First published in the *Yomiuri Journal* from 11 January to 3 February and from 26 February to 21 March in 1891.)

“bohemian fantasy” that Bryson identified. The marriage only further secured the supremacy of the artist over the model for the future.

How could Ozaki Kôyô tell such a story? Uchida Roan, one of his contemporary novelists, pointed out that Ozaki Kôyô knew well about Western literature and that he wrote this story based on “*L’œuvre*” (*The Masterpiece*) by Emile Zola.⁶ It was published in 1886 in France, and a very short part of the beginning was translated into Japanese in 1902 in the magazine *Myôjô*. “*L’œuvre*” is a long and a complex story, and it begins with the love story of an artist and the young girl who became his model. It provides an excellent illustration of the bohemian fantasy and the masculine camaraderie of artists.

The Meiji Bijutsu Kai (The Association of Art in Meiji) was the first association of Western-style artists, organised in 1889 in Tokyo. They held a debate on January 29 and February 20 of 1891 titled “*Ratai no Kaiga, Chôkoku ha Hompô no Fûzoku ni Gai ariya inaya?*” (*Do paintings and sculptures of nudes have a negative effect on Japanese society?*).⁷ Scholars and oil painters participated in the debate. They did not decide the official policy of the association, but two oil painters were opposed to the representation of nudes in Japanese art. Asai Chû gave the objection that Japanese painters still did not have enough academic training. Another opponent, Koyama Shôtarô argued that most Japanese took nudes as sexual objects rather than art. They concluded that the state of Japanese art was too premature for life study with nude models.

In 1895, Kuroda’s painting *Chôshô* was shown in the exhibition of the Association of Art in Meiji, but it did not attract much public interest. However, when the painting was exhibited at the fourth *Naikoku Kangyô Hakurankai* (National Industrial Exhibition) held in Kyoto in the following year, it aroused

⁶ Uchida, Roan. *Kinofu Kefu* (Now and Then), Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1916, reprinted in Uchida, Roan. *Omoidasu Hitobito* (People in My Memory), Tokyo: Nihon Tosho Sentô, 1983, p. 91.

⁷ “*Tôronkai-Hikki*” (Shorthand Notes of the Debate), in *Meijibijutu-kai Hôkoku* (Reports of the Association of Art in Meiji), vol.2, Tokyo: Yumani Shobô, 1991, pp.21-74.

public controversy. As we have already discussed, Kuroda believed that the female nude was part of the canon of aesthetics, but Japanese audiences were curious about a nude painting depicting a French woman. The police considered demanding him to withdraw the painting from the exhibition, but the president of the judging committee of the exhibition decided to leave it on display.

Kuroda Seiki exhibited *Chi, Kan, Jô (Wisdom, Impression, Sentiment)* (fig. 2.3) in the second exhibition of *Hakuba-kai* in 1897. This was a set of three canvases like a triptych showing female nudes against a gold background. Kuroda retouched them and sent them to the Paris Exposition Universelle in 1900 and was awarded the silver prize. It again caused disputes in the newspapers. The police did not control its display, but they banned the issue of the art magazine "*Bijutsu Hyôron*" (*Art Critics*) dated 20 November 1897 because it included a black and white photograph of the painting.⁸ The magazine issued a joint review on works shown at the second exhibition of *Hakuba-kai*. Among the speakers, Mori Ôgai evaluated Kuroda's effort and complained about the excessive discussion of "wavy lines."⁹ He noted that this topic had been expounded on by William Hogarth. Ôgai must have read Hogarth's *The Analysis of Beauty* (1753), in which he wrote about the beauty of "the waving lines" of the human figure. This reminds of us the novels by Yamada Mimyô and Ozaki Kôyô that I have cited previously. They also used the words "wavy lines" to describe female nudes. Though it is less believable that all Japanese writers knew Hogarth's theory, the phrase "beauty of wavy lines" was repeatedly used by critics to explain the beauty of female nudes in particular. We may find the answer as to why Japanese preferred this phrase in the writings of Kenneth Clark. In his well known book titled "*The Nude*" (1956),

⁸ On the detail of this issue, see Ueno, Kenzô. *Nihon Kindai Yôga no Seiritsu: Hakuba-kai (The Establishment of Japanese Modern Art: The White Horse Society)*, Tokyo: Chûôkôron Bijutsu Shuppan, 2005, pp.68-72.

⁹ *Bijutsu Hyôron (Critics of Art)*, vol.1, Tokyo: Yumani Shobô, 1991, p.105.

he explained as follows:

Is there, after all, any reason why certain quasi-geometrical shapes should be satisfying except that they are simplified statements of the forms which please us in a woman's body? The recurrent search by writers on the theory of art – Lomazzo, Hogarth, Winckelmann – for a 'line of beauty' ends, not inappropriately, in a question-mark; and he who pursues it further is soon caught in the sterile fallacy of one cause. A shape, like a word, has innumerable associations which vibrate in the memory, and any attempt to explain it by a single analogy is as futile as the translation of a lyric poem. But the fact that we can base our argument either way on this unexpected union of sex and geometry is a proof of how deeply the concept of the nude is linked with our most elementary notions of order and design.¹⁰

Here, Clark as a heterosexual male viewer confessed his admiration of the beauty in the female nude and explained it "aesthetically." However, Linda Nead has criticized such a gendered discussion as Clark's. She argued that "Clark's category of the naked belongs to the inferior, female set of the body, whereas the nude is an extension of the elevated male attributes associated with the mind."¹¹

In *Myōjō* magazine, founder Yosano Tekkan, and Ueda Bin, a man of letters discussed a painting of a female nude by Fujishima Takeji titled *Yoku-go* (*After Taking a Bath*) shown at the fifth exhibition of *Hakuba-kai* in 1900 (fig. 2.4). They told each other that they were made to believe nude paintings with a good combination of wavy lines comprised the ultimate beauty in art.¹² They did not seem to stick to representation of female nudes and they noted that they

¹⁰ Clark, Kenneth. *The Nude: a Study of Ideal Art*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1960, p. 344.

¹¹ Nead, Linda. *Female Nude: Art, Obscenity and Sexuality*, London and New York: Routledge, 1992. p. 14.

¹² *Myōjō*, no.8, November 1900, Tokyo: Shinshisha, pp. 6-8.

only learned that nude paintings are important in art. However, this issue of the magazine was banned by the police because it included illustrations of female nudes copied from Western art books. After this incident, *Myôjô* made clear its support of paintings of female nudes. In protesting the censorship of nude images, *Myôjô*, no.11, published a pair of illustrations by Fujishima captioned “*Nihon Geijutsu no Genzai*” (The Present State of Japanese Art) and “*Nihon Geijutsu no Mira*” (The Future of Japanese Art) (fig. 2.5). In each illustration, French titles are written: “*Figure symbolique du present de la nudité au Japon*” (A Symbolic Figure of Nudity of Present Day Japan) and “*Figure symbolique de l’avenir de la nudité au Japon*” (A Symbolic Figure of Nudity of the Future Japan). One illustration symbolising Japanese art in 1900 shows Venus and angels covered in a black veil. An owl has a tag on its neck and the message is “*Ignorance qui aime les ténèbres [sic.]*” (Ignorance that likes darkness). The other illustration expresses Japanese art in 1901. The black veil is taken away by angels and nude Venus is coming out. An owl and bats are flying away. One of the angels is holding a palette. The female nude is a symbol of “art,” and the ignorant Japanese society will be enlightened by art when a female nude is shown in public.

However, the black veil had still not been removed in 1901. In October 1901, Kuroda showed a painting of a nude woman in the sixth exhibition of *Hakuba-kai* (fig. 2.6). This painting was made in Paris using a French model when Kuroda was in France again to attend the Paris Exposition Universelle of 1900. As ordered by the police, the painting was half covered by a cloth to hide the lower part of the woman’s body. The *Myôjô* magazine published its photo criticizing the oddity of the police control (fig. 2.7).¹³ Not only the painting by Kuroda but also drawings by Raphaël Collin and other works of female nudes were partly covered with cloths, as illustrated reports in the newspapers attest

¹³ *Myôjô*; no.17, November 1901.

to.¹⁴ On the occasion of the eighth exhibition of *Hakuba-kai* exhibition in 1903, there was a special room for nude paintings. Those who were introduced by members of *Hakuba-kai* were allowed to enter the room.

Ueno Kenzô has argued that Kuroda guided the members of *Hakuba-kai* to exhibit images of female nudes as their mission to spread Western art in Japan. He wrote,

In the age of *Hakuba-kai* in the late Meiji period, the idea of “art” and its position within society was still unstable. Rather than understanding it as a history of increasing interference by the police authority against nude painting as an established ‘art,’ it was formed by the collaborative work of artists, police and the audience and within this framework of the new state structure of Meiji Japan the nude painting should find its position. This viewpoint provides a more effective insight fitting the reality of Meiji art.¹⁵

I agree with his opinion that “artists, police, and the audience” worked together to settle nude painting in art in Meiji Japan. However, we should note that the “artists, police, and the audience” who could express their opinions in public in Meiji Japan were all males. That is why the symbolically targeted female nude genre unified the police and artists. Even repeated efforts at control by the police reinforced the masculine camaraderie of male artists.

2.2 Solidarity of Japanese students in Paris around 1900

¹⁴ Ueno Kenzô. “*Hakubakai-ten zen 13-kai no Kiroku*” (Records of 13 exhibitions of the White Horse Society), in Bridgestone Museum of Art, Ishibashi Foundation, The National Museum of Modern Art, Kyoto and Ishibashi Museum of Art, Ishibashi Foundation, ed., *Hakubakai: Meiji Yôga no Shimpû (Starting Anew in the Meiji Period: A Retrospective Exhibition of Painting from the Hakubakai Group 1896-1911)*, 1996-1997, pp.192-193.

¹⁵ Ueno, Kenzô. *Nihon Kindai Yôga no Seiritsu: Hakuba-kai*, 2005, pp. 66-67. The original text in Japanese is: 「明治後期の白馬会の時代においては、いまだ「美術」の概念と社会における位置づけは不安定であったのであり、すでに自立した「美術」としての裸体画に対して警察権力が干渉を加えていった歴史としてとらえるよりも、明治日本という新しい国家制度のなかで裸体画が位置づけられるべき「美術」の枠組みが、美術家や警察や観衆による共同作業を通じて形成されたのだという見方も可能であり、そうした見方のほうが明治期の美術の実情に照らすときは有効な視野を提供してくれると考えられるからである」

On the occasion of the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893, the Japanese government built a pavilion that imitated the style of an eleventh century temple and illustrated representations of Japanese art history in it. Contemporary paintings in Japanese style, sculptures, and crafts were all sent to the exhibition, although very few oil paintings were included. The government was against showing oil paintings, causing the *Meiji Bijutsu kai* to boycott the exhibition. Japanese exhibits had been classified as "crafts" rather than "art" at the previous international exhibitions although the Japanese office for the World's Columbian Exposition persistently negotiated with the U.S. government to show Japanese exhibits in the Art Museum.¹⁶ Some of the objects, such as "*Jûniwa no Taka*" (*Twelve Hawks*) made of bronze by Suzuki Chôkichi, were moved from the Craft Gallery to the Art Museum after the exhibition had opened. This satisfied the Japanese government, and on the next occasion of Japan's participation in the Paris Exposition Universelle of 1900, they sent many more art works, including oil paintings. This represented a major shift in Japanese art policy. Furthermore, some of these Japanese paintings were exhibited in the Décennale Exhibition at Grand Palais and some of these, including Kuroda's *Chi, Kan, Jô* (*Wisdom, Impression, Sentiment*), were even awarded prizes. In fact, Japan was not the only participant from a non-European country in the Décennale Exhibition. Congo, Martinique, Indo-China and Peru also participated in the exhibition.¹⁷ It seems that the French government was trying to show a variety of art from all over the world at one time. In any event, this fact encouraged oil painters, many of whom tried to study in Paris around 1900. Kume Keiichirô was sent to Paris as a member of the Japanese officers for the the Paris Exposition Universelle of 1900, and Kuroda Seiki, Okada Sabrôsuke, Wada Eisaku (1874-1959) and Asai Chû (1856-1907) were sent to study in

¹⁶ This process was examined in the following catalogue, see, Tokyo National Museum ed., *Umi o Watatta Meiji no Bijutsu: Saiken, 1893 nen Chicago Korombusu Sekai Hakurankai (World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 Revisited: 19th Century Japanese Art Shown in Chicago, U.S.A.)*, Tokyo: Tokyo National Museum, 1997.

¹⁷ Rosenblum, Robert. "Art in 1900: Twilight or Dawn?" in Rosenblum, Robert; Stevens, Mary Anne. ed., *Art in 1900: Art at the Crossroads*, London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2000, p.29.

Paris at government expense.

Not only artists, but also an unprecedented number of officers, scholars and businessmen were in Paris around 1900. Until then, most Japanese chose to study in the United Kingdom and Germany to learn modern social systems, science and technology. In fact, there were still many more Japanese expatriates in Berlin than in Paris in around 1900. Japanese expatriates in Berlin had formed a society known as *Nihon Kurabu* (the Japan Club), and Japanese students formed smaller groups related to their expertise, such as medical science, law or military training.¹⁸

It was Kuroda Seiki and Terashima Seichirô (1870-1929) who proposed to form a society of Japanese students in Paris named "*Panteon Kai*" (The Pantheon Society) in November in 1900. There was a small pension named Hotel Sufflot near the Pantheon, whose guests were mostly Japanese. It was at a café nearby where their friends regularly gathered. These Japanese stayed in Paris to study diverse fields, such as law, politics, medical science, biology and art. The role of artists among the group was important, because they edited a handmade journal to circulate among the members. It was from these issues in the journal that we are able to trace their activities now. It is called "*Pantheon-kai Zasshi*" (*The Journal of the Pantheon Society*) and three volumes are extant.¹⁹ Painters such as Wada Eisaku and Kubota Beisai (1874-1937) worked as editors, as well as on the elaborate binding and illustrations with other painters, including Okada Saburôsuke. There are additional unsigned illustrations by unknown artists. Other members wrote essays, poems, plays, and other miscellany. These documents represent a rare opportunity for us to glimpse the everyday lives of Japanese in Paris at that

¹⁸ Iwaya, Sazanami. *Shôha Ryokô Miyage* (A Story of Shôha's travel), Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1903, pp. 267-269.

¹⁹ They came to light in Japanese in 1987, and are now housed in the library of Maison Franco-Japonais in Paris. Based on a group research on them from 2001 to 2004, a book with reproductions of the original journals was published in 2004: "Panteon-kai Zasshi" Kenkyûkai (A Research Group of "The Journal of the Pantheon Society") ed., *Paris 1900, Nihon-jin Ryûgakusei no Kôyû: "Panteon-kai Zasshi": Shiryô to Kenkyû*, (*Paris 1900, Friendship of Japanese Students: Documents and Researches of "The Journal of the Pantheon Society"*), Tokyo: Brücke, 2004.

time, and they reveal to us that there was a tightly knit homosocial society.²⁰

One thing that was unique to The Pantheon Society was that it had its own rules. These were decided on the evening of 21 November 1900, upon the society's establishment. The rules were written at the beginning of the first volume of the journal. They are as follows:

1. We call this newly established group of students "The Pantheon Society."
2. All attendees on this night are regarded as members, and membership is for life.
3. We produce a journal with writings and illustrations by our members.
4. We have a dinner party and a tea party once a month.
5. Admission of a new member is decided by unanimous approval of a secret vote by members.
6. Members are given a nickname and we call each other by these nicknames.

The fifth rule was changed later, and a new member was admitted with three members' nomination. Though most members were already married and had a certain social position in Japan, they defined themselves as students. They had left their families in Japan and lived by themselves in Paris.

It is known that unions of male students were organized in the nineteenth century in Germany. Cultural anthropologists and ethnologists in Germany made studies on them in the early twentieth century and referred to them as "Männerbund" (Masculine camaraderie).²¹ "Männerbund" pursued homosocial

²⁰ Kojima, Kaoru. "Dansei Dōmei to shite no Panteon-kai" (The Pantheon Society as a Masculine Camaraderie), in "Panteon-kai Zasshi" Kenkyūkai ed., *Paris 1900, Nihon-jin Ryūgakusei no Kōyū: "Panteon-kai Zasshi": Shiryō to Kenkyū*, 2004, pp. 411-427.

²¹ Sombart, Nicolaus. "Dansei-dōmei to Seiji Bunka" ('Männer Bundt' and Social Politics), in Kühne, Thomas ed., *Otoko-rashisa no Rekishi: Shimin-shakai to Otokorashisa no Shinwa (History of Masculinity: The Myth of Masculinity and Civil Society)*, Tokyo: Kashiwa Shobō, 1997, pp.133-155. The original text is in German and titled, *Männnergeshichte-Gescheheltergeschichte, Männlichkeit im Wandel der Moderne*, Frankfurt am Main, New York: Campus: 1996.

unity and masculinity, which formed a base of the gendered nationalism in early modern Germany. Lynn Blattmann analysed the “Männerbund” of male students organized in the nineteenth century that were also present in Switzerland. They confirmed their masculinity by *Komment*, such as duels and drinking beer.²² Some of the members of the Pantheon Society had stayed in Berlin, and they were intimately familiar with student life in Germany. For example, Iwaya Sazanami, who was in Berlin from 1900 to 1902, wrote that German students liked fighting in duels and that they swig beer.²³ As I wrote before, Japanese students formed student groups in Berlin. If we compare the rules of the Pantheon Society with the features of “Männerbund”, we will be able to find quite interesting similarities.²⁴

Blattmann defined characteristics of “Männerbund” based on prior research as follows:

1. A “Männerbund” is a firmly institutionalised association of men. It will require these men to be bound together throughout their lives.
2. It contains a numinous core that has mythical idea of unconquerable masculinity.
3. A “Männerbund” marks out itself as the symbolically created community by producing rituals to fuse or to remove barriers between the members.
4. Acceptance into “Männerbund” is enacted by a ritualistic act (an initiation ceremony).
5. “Männerbünde” show great symbolic analogy with families.²⁵

²² Blattmann, Lynn. “Kettō, Sake, Nakama to Suisu Gakusei Rengō” (Duel, Alcohol, Comrade and Student’s Union in Switzerland) in Kühne ed., *Otoko-rashisa no Rekishi: Shimin-shakai to Otokorashisa no Shinwa (History of Masculinity: The Myth of Masculinity and Civil Society)*, 1997, pp. 115-132.

²³ Iwaya, Sazanami. *Shōha Ryokō Miyage*, 1903, p.333.

²⁴ I pointed out this resemblance in “Dansei Dōmei toshiteno Panteon-ka”, in “Panteon-kai Zasshi” Kenkyūkai ed., *Paris 1900, Nihon-jin Ryōgakusei no Kōyū: “Panteon-kai Zasshi”: Shiryō to Kenkyū*, 2004, pp.411-427.

²⁵ Blattmann, Lynn. “Kettō. Sake, Nakama to Suisu Gakusei Rengō”, in Kühne ed., in *Otoko-rashisa no Rekishi: Shimin-shakai to Otokorashisa no Shinwa*, 1997, p.127. The original text is:

- Ein Männerbund ist eine fest institutionalisierte Körperschaft von Männern. Er erhebt den Anspruch, diese Männer lebenslänglich einzubinden.

- Er beinhaltet einen numinosen Kern, der mit mythischen Vorstellungen von unbezwingbarer

The Pantheon Society decided rules and nominated editors of the journal, secretaries, and other officers at regular meetings. This means that the society was established to be “a firmly institutionalised association.” Their membership was also life-long. Blattmann added that a new member was given a new name by the group when he joined “Männerbund.”²⁶ She explained that the nickname was only used among the members so that it testified to his identity in the group.²⁷ The members of the Pantheon Society were given nicknames when they joined the group as well. Most writings in the journals are written given attribution by these nicknames known only to society members, and we cannot positively identify some of the members now as a result. Sometimes even a member's family did not know anything about the nickname.²⁸ On the other hand, Kanokogi wrote his recollections in Paris about thirty years later using his friends' nicknames.²⁹ Society members shared apartments and often cooked together. It was a pseudo-family, in which members shared housework. There is a photograph of one of their meetings (fig. 2.8), and it shows a very casual and intimate atmosphere of the Society. They often drew humorous portraits of each other in the Journal of the Pantheon Society (figs. 2.9, 2.10). Such portraits must have played the same role as their nicknames, because only the members who knew each other well could enjoy the humour of these caricaturised portraits.

When we regard the Pantheon Society as an example of “Männerbund,” the editing of the journals may have had a symbolic role in the society to connect each member. On the cover of the second volume, Okada drew

Männlichkeit besetzt ist.

- Die Aufnahme in den Bund wird durch rituelle Handlungen (rites de passages) vollzogen.

- Männerbünde weisen große symbolische Analogien zu Familien auf.

²⁶ Ibid., p.129.

²⁷ Ibid., p.129.

²⁸ Tanaka, Ittei. *Sekai Dôchû Kaban no Chiri* (Small episodes of My Traveling Abroad), Tokyo: Kishida Shoten, 1915, pp. 269-271.

²⁹ Kanokogi, Takeshirô. “*Taiô Sekiwa (sono yon)*” (Recollection of my stay in Europe, part 4) in *Tadasu no Mori*, August 1932, pp. 1-2, Kyoto: Kanokogi Kenkûjo.

Three Graces in the nude with the words “L'AMITIE” (Friendship) (fig. 2.11).

There is an explanation of the image on the back cover (fig. 2.12):

True friendship is not offering help to one's neighbors, is what the Three Graces symbolize. Their faces are serene and they are totally naked and embracing each other. The first Grace has a rose in her hand, the second has a die, and the third has a bouquet of myrtle, to show the three different effects of this virtue; that is to give, to receive and to return in kind. Their virginity shows us that sincere friendship should not be disgraced by any stain. Their nudity means that one should not adorn nor disguise between friends. Their merry visages tell that one should not appear to be sad when he was obliged to give his friends benefits or when he is benefited by his friends. If we add further explanation, by a rose, we signify the regards that should exist between those who like each other; by a die, that their gratitude one must pass from one to another; by the myrtle, their indestructible union.³⁰

The iconography of the Three Graces and its explanation was based on Seneca's “*De Beneficiis*,” which described them as smiling maidens representing three aspects of generosity: the giving, receiving and returning of gifts, or benefits.³¹ This is a manifesto of the Pantheon Society. With the image of the Three Graces, they vowed eternal friendship.

³⁰“Panteon-kai Zasshi” Kenkyūkai, ed., *Paris 1900, Nihon-jin Ryūgakusei no Kōyū: “Panteon-kai Zasshi”: Shiryō to Kenkyū*, 2004. p.101. The original text is as follows: LA vraye Amitié, qui ne se propose pour but que d'aider le prochain, est représentée par les trois Graces. Ces vierges dont le visage est serein, sont toutes nues, & ont les bras enlacés. La première tient une rose à la main, la seconde un dé, & la troisième un bouquet de myrthe, pour montrer les trois différents effets de cette vertu, qui sont, de donner, de recevoir, & de rendre le semblable. Leur virginité nous apprend, que la sincère Amitié ne veut estre souillée d'aucune tache; leur nudité, qu'il ne faut pas qu'il y ait ny fard ny déguisement entre les amis; leur visage riant, qu'on ne doit jamais paraître trist, soit que l'on oblige par quelque bienfait, soit qu'on le reçoive. J'ajoute à cecy, que par la rose nous est signifiée la complaisance qu'il y doit avoir entre ceux qui s'aiment; par le dé, leur reconnaissance, qui doit passer de l'un à l'autre, & par le myrthe, leur union incorruptible.

³¹ Hall, James. *Dictionary of Subjects & Symbols in Art*, New York, Hagerstown, San Francisco, London: Icon editions, 1979, p. 303. Yamanshi, Emiko. “II-1/II-39, *Hyōshi-ga/Urabyōshi*” (II-1/II-39, Comments on Illustration on the Front and Back Covers), in *Panteon-kai Zasshi*” Kenkyūkai, ed., *Paris 1900, Nihon-jin Ryūgakusei no Kōyū: “Panteon-kai Zasshi”: Shiryō to Kenkyū*, 2004, p. 167.

Okada Sabuôtsuke was an oil painter who worked with Kuroda Seiki at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts, and studied at the atelier of Raphaël Collin in Paris with Wada Eisaku. For him, it must have been quite natural to depict female nudes as the symbol of masculine camaraderie. Studio fraternity among artists was shared between the members of the Pantheon Society, and this tightened the unity of their masculine camaraderie. Among the three volumes of the Journals of the Pantheon Society, the first volume has lost its front and back covers, and the third volume has a simple cardboard cover. The second volume is most deliberately bound, and it contains more illustrations than the others. The cover was made with a piece of canvas, and a sheet of silk is affixed to its surface. The Three Graces were painted on it. On the reverse side of the canvas, there is a pattern of golden plant branches. The images seem to be made by pressing a real sprig with gold paint onto the canvas, and thus transferring its pattern. The plant on the back of the front cover looks like a sprig of olive (fig. 2.13). The other plant on the inside of the back cover seems to be a branch of myrtle (fig. 2.14). Olive was a symbol of peace and wisdom, and myrtle meant eternal fidelity, as explained in the Three Graces. Both patterns seem to be chosen to praise the solid unity of the selected members of the Pantheon Society with the symbolic image of the Three Graces. This volume has a frontispiece finely drawn in watercolour by Wada Eisaku. Its title was *Kiku* (*Chrysanthemum*), and showed a profile of a young woman with chrysanthemum flowers in the Art Nouveau style (fig. 2.15). Chrysanthemum is a Japanese national symbol in the modern age, but it was often used as a metaphor for homosexuality in the Edo period. It is not clear why Wada's drawing was selected as a frontispiece, but there is some possibility that it also symbolized unity between male members.

Lovers of *haiku* poetry formed a group named *Tomoe-kai* (Tomoe Group). The central figures were Asai Chû, Wada Eisaku and Kubota Beisai. They produced very finely illustrated pages of Haiku by the members of the Tomoe

Group in the Journal (fig. 2.16). Asai Chû and Wada Eisaku stayed together at Grez where Kuroda had once stayed, and enjoyed sketching and making poems. Asai developed drawings and designs in the Art Nouveau style while he stayed in Grez (fig. 2.17), and Wada collaborated on the same style of drawings with him (fig. 2.18). Wada's frontispiece seems to have been made in this period.

Asai was a former student of the *Kôbu Bijutsu Gakkô* (The Art School of the Ministry of Industry) and a close friend of Koyama Shôtarô. He was nominated as a professor of oil painting in the Tokyo School of Fine Arts in 1898 but resigned the position soon after his return from France and moved to Kyoto. The intimate relationship between Asai and Wada only endured while they were in France. Former students of Koyama Shôtarô, such as Kanokogi Takeshirô, Nakamura Fusetsu, and Fujimura Chineta, who was a student of Asai, came to Paris at their own expense. They gathered at rooms in a shabby apartment, which they ironically called "*Seiri-kaku*" (Starlight Palace). Later they formed *Taiheiyô-gakai* (The Pacific Society) against *Hakuba-kai* (the White Horse Society) and Kanokogi and Wada parted ways because of their differences in art policy. Nevertheless, while they were in Paris, painters of different backgrounds gathered together in the Pantheon Society.

In some cases, their relationship in Paris resulted in a good collaboration after they returned to Japan. Tanaka Ittei, one of the members, asked artists of the Pantheon Society to furnish the new library of Keio University in 1912 when he became its director. The main monument was a stained glass by Wada, which portrayed a goddess enlightening old Japanese Samurai (fig. 2.19). The goddess looks like Minerva, but also is reminiscent of *Amaterasu*, the ancient sun goddess in Japanese mythology who gave light to the human world. Another symbolic sculpture in marble by Kitamura Shikai was set in the main lobby of the library (fig. 2.20). It was a figure of *Tekona*, a young woman from an ancient Japanese legend. She was said to have been so beautiful that many

young men proposed marriage to her, but she committed suicide as a virgin. Female figures of the goddess and a virgin beauty were quite suitable as symbols for male solidarity.

There was another collaboration of artists from among the members of the Pantheon Society. Kubota Beisai was hired by the Mitsukoshi Department Store, and Wada Eisaku and Okada Saburôtsuke worked together for a publicity campaign for Mitsukoshi. A discussion about this will be given in the next chapter. The records of meetings of the Pantheon Society in Paris through 1912 are extant. As membership was life-long, they held meetings in Japan through the beginning of 1920s.³²

2.3 Male artists and the artistic self

A photograph was taken of the students of the *Kôbu Bijutsu Gakkô* with their teacher, Antonio Fontanesi, when he was to leave Japan in 1878 (fig. 2.21). Officers of the school and some of the students wear Western clothes, but most of them are in Japanese-style clothing. Their hairstyles are wild and some of them wear kimonos with a splashed pattern on a white undergarment and a *Hakama* (a kind of Japanese trouser). This was *shosei* (young students) fashion, which was a new social stratum in Meiji. *Shosei* was a name for students of newly established schools for higher education, who wanted to be the leaders of Japan. The art students' postures and sharp eyes show how strong their motivation for learning Western culture was.

After Fontanesi left the *Kôbu Art School*, Koyama Shôtarô, an assistant of the oil painting course, quit the school and opened a private atelier named *Fudôsha* in 1887. A number of painters graduated from the atelier, including Kanokogi Takeshirô and Nakamura Fusetsu, whom I mentioned as members of the *Pantheon-kai* in the previous chapter. Students of *Fudôsha* sometimes went

³² Tezuka, Emiko. "Panteon-kai no Kiseki: Kaiin tachi no Kiroku, Nikki, Kaikoroku, Shokan nado yori", in "Panteon-kai Zasshi" Kenkyûkai, ed., *Paris 1900, Nihon-jin Ryûgakusei no Kôyû: "Panteon-kai Zasshi": Shiryô to Kenkyû*, 2004, pp.382-387.

together sketching outside of Tokyo. Kanokogi had a photograph taken on 5 April 1894 and wrote on the back of the photo that they were on a three-day excursion to see peach blossoms (fig. 2.22). However, they do not look like artists enjoying the view of flowery grove as much as they look like they were in military training. Koyama taught drawing in the military academy before he worked at the Kôbu Art School, and joined the army as a military painter when the Sino-Japanese war started in August of the same year. Western-style landscape drawing was regarded as useful in recording geography for military purposes during the early Meiji period in Japan. This photography conveys to us what the idea of 'art' consisted of during that period.

Kanokogi went to America with three fellow Fudôsha students in the autumn of 1900. Two other former Fudôsha students waited for them in Boston, and they held watercolour exhibitions of Japanese subjects. They earned enough money to continue travelling to Europe and arrived in Paris in 1901. They wore kimonos to attract attention in Boston. There are two photographs taken in the Boston Arts Club. One of them shows Kanokogi with his friends posing in kimonos, probably for an American audience (fig. 2.23). Their portraits in kimonos were seen as exotic by American audiences just as were the Japanese landscapes and people expressed in their watercolours. The other photograph shows Kanokogi standing with a snobby air in a black suit in the same room (fig. 2.24). On the reverse of the this picture, there is a note to his wife. He must have sent this photograph as evidence of his success in America to his relatives in Japan. Here, he expressed himself proudly as an artist who had created the works displayed behind him. Kanokogi went to Paris and studied in the Academy Julian the following year. His photo in the atelier with a nude model in its centre shows us that he had already joined the studio fraternity in the academy (fig. 2.25).

Another photograph of Japanese painters in France in 1900 shows Kuroda Seiki, Iwamura Tôru, Kume Keiichirô, Okada Sburôsuke, Wada Eisaku, Gôda

Kiyoshi, Sano Akira and Shôdai Tameshige in fully Western attire (fig. 2.26). They were all members of *Hakuba-kai*, and were in Paris for official duties. They are dressed in good fashion and proudly posed for the camera. The photograph confirmed the assimilation of these men to European culture. Kume later recalled the day when they gathered together as follows:

There was one of the most pleasurable memories of the time I stayed in France for the Paris Exposition Universelle of 1900. It was that as many as eight of the members of the “camarade” of the White Horse Society gathered in Paris.³³

Kume actually used the French word “camarade” in his sentences, and testified to their solidarity. They left Paris and enjoyed drunkenly roaming the bank of the Marne River in the evening. According to Kume, they forgot that they were foreigners in France and danced and sang songs madly. He wrote,

Actually, we were intoxicated with this serene world, with clear moonlight, and with mild atmosphere. We totally lost ourselves in enormous pleasure to meet our comrades together in a foreign country far away from our homeland.³⁴

Whereas their photograph showed their yearning for Western culture, their eccentric behaviour showed their identity as “bohemian” artists, which strengthened their masculine camaraderie.

It was during their first stay in Paris that Kuroda and Kume joined the “bohemian” life introduced by their American and English friends. We have

³³ Kume, Keiichirô. *Hôgen Bijutsu-ron (Critics on Art by Kume Keiichirô)*, Tokyo: Chûôkôron Bijutsu Shuppan, 1984. p.266. The original text in Japanese is: 「一九〇〇年の博覧会で、最も愉快な記念がたつた一つある。それは白馬会のカマラアドが八人までも巴里に集まつた事である。」

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 267. The original text in Japanese is: 「実際我々は此閑静な天地に酔ひ、清らかな月の光と長閑な空気に酔ひ、殊更遠き異郷に於て仲間同志が揃つた其喜びに狂して全く我を忘れたのである。」

seen their photograph taken in Fontainebleau, in which they were dressed in a very casual manner (fig. 1.5). Another photo of Kuroda with Griffin from the same period shows Kuroda wearing a strange jacket like a labourer and has a Turkish cap that he might have purchased during the journey to Paris³⁵ (fig. 2.27).³⁶ Whether dressed in casual clothes or in formal attire, we can see a sense of privileged identity as an artist in these portraits of Japanese painters in France.

Amelia Jones pointed out that modern artists tried to express their creativity in a fashion that was distinct from and opposed to the bourgeoisie.³⁷ She argued that there were two different types of artists' fashion by using the example of two photographs by Nadar. One was a photo of Théophile Gautier in 1857, which shows him in an artist's smock with a loose scarf and an open-collared shirt. Another example was a portrait of Eugene Delacroix in 1858, which shows a perfectly dressed "dandy" image of the artist. She explained that artists distinguished themselves from ordinary people by taking on a sartorial signifier of a peasant or labourer, or a by performing as "the artistic dandy."³⁸ The group photo of members of *Hakuba-kai* and the photo of Kanokogi with his friends in an apartment in Paris (fig. 2.28) show their performance as artistic dandies. Japanese male artists in Paris copied both of these two types of self-presentations by Western artists. Dressed as either workers or dandies, Japanese artists made efforts to assimilate themselves in the milieu of Western culture.

2.4 "Bohemian" life introduced to Japanese art students

³⁵ He wrote to his mother in a letter dated on 21 March 1884 that he bought this cap at Aden, and he drew the drawing of the cap in the letter. Kumamoto, Kenjiro. ed., *Kuroda Seiki Nikki (Journals of Kuroda Seiki)*, vol.1, Tokyo: Chûôkōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 1966. p. 9.

³⁶ This photograph is in the collection of Maine Historical Society, an archive in a hometown of Griffin, and was discovered by Arayashiki Tōru. See, Arayashiki, Tōru. *Gurô Shuru Rowan ni kakaru Hashi: Kuroda Seiki, Asai Chû to Furansu Geijutsuka-mura, (Grez-sur-Loing and Japan: Kuroda Seiki and Asai Chû)*, Tokyo: Pola Bunka Kenkûjo, 2005. p. 25-26.

³⁷ Jones, Amelia. "Clothes Make the Man": The Male Artists as a Performative Function", in *Oxford Art Journal*, Oxford: Didcot Press, vol. 18, no. 2., 1995, pp. 8-21.

³⁸ Ibid., p.21.

As we have seen before, Kuroda Seiki founded a new association of artists, *Hakubakai* (The White Horse Society) in 1896. The main members were Kume Keichirô (1866-1934), Okada Saburôsuke (1869-1939), Wada Eisaku (1874-1959), and Fujishima Takeji (1867-1943). Okada, Wada, and Fujishima had already studied academic-style oil painting under teachers who had studied at the Kôbu Art School, but they changed their style following Kuroda and joined *Hakuba-kai*. Why did Kuroda attract such young artists?

An episode of Okada's encounter with Kuroda in the summer of 1893 provides a clue.³⁹ When he walked along a road near the Sea of Yokohama to visit his uncle's summer house, he found people he didn't recognize engaged in sketching the landscape. They turned out to be Kuroda and Kume, whom Okada already knew, but he did not recognise them at first sight. What surprised Okada was the fashion of their attire. They were both dressed in quite casual clothes like labourers, though they were sons of wealthy dignities in Japan. Kuroda must have been dressed in the same kind of clothes when the photo with Griffin was taken in Paris (fig. 2.27). They spent summer vacations in the countryside of Tokyo, as they stayed in Grez and Bréhat while they were in France. Okada was fascinated by their way of living and joined them. They went on sketching and swimming together during the day and drinking at night. Okada himself did not drink alcohol much, but he enjoyed coffee, which he had never tasted before. At this time, they were all in their twenties. Wada Eisaku also really admired Kuroda, Kume and Iwamura's eccentric behaviour and respected their bohemian style of life as artists.⁴⁰

Kuroda's self-portrait from June 1897 was painted in swift brushstrokes on a small board. He wore a simple shirt and a beret (fig. 2.28). This kind of attire was quite strange in Japan in those days. People still usually wore kimonos in

³⁹ Okada, Saburôsuke. "Atonie Zatsuwa" (Recollection of My Artist Life), in *Bijutsu*, Tokyo: Bijutsu Hakkôjo, vol.14, no.3, pp.3-4. 1939.

⁴⁰ Yamanashi Emiko introduced and discussed on this episode in, Yamanashi, Emiko. "Kuroda Seiki no Nidome no Taiô soshite Panteon-kai tonô Kakawari" (The Meaning of Kuroda Seiki's Second Stay in Paris and His relationship with the Pantheon Society), in "Panteon-kai Zasshi" Kenkyûkai ed., *Paris 1900, Nihon-jin Ryûgakusei no Kôyû: "Panteon-kai Zasshi": Shiryô to Kenkyû*, 2004, p.452.

everyday life, and government officials and intellectuals dressed in Western attire when they went to work. Kuroda painted a small portrait of Kume in January 1897, during the time that they were staying in a village by the sea, away from Tokyo (fig. 2.29). In his portrait, Kume was sketching something with a cigarette in his mouth. At the lower left of the painting, Kuroda added the small pattern of a white horse and wrote his name in it. *Hakuba-kai* (the White Horse Society) created an insignia in the shape of the head of white horse. Kuroda's signature on the painting marked his identity as a member of *Hakuba-kai*. Kuroda, Kume and another member from *Hakuba-kai* spent the New Year's holidays together in the village, which was particularly unusual behaviour for the period as convention would have dictated that they should have stayed with their family to celebrate the New Year with them. However, Kuroda resisted such Japanese customs, and found his place living among his comrades of *Hakuba-kai*.

One can imagine the pervasive bohemian atmosphere among the young members of *Hakuba-kai*. Although I have demonstrated that Kuroda considered the creation of the society very carefully, the myth of *Hakuba-kai* being set up spontaneously while drinking at a bar has been the standard story.⁴¹ Most of the members were nominated as professors of the Tokyo School of Fine Arts and their students attended its annual exhibitions (fig. 2.30). They were all male and studies at a life class bound them together in a studio fraternity. Professors who had studied abroad brought the lifestyle of art students into Japan. A good example was *Bijutsu-sai* (An Art Festival) held in 1903 in the Tokyo School of Fine Arts. Among the many events, there was a fancy parade by professors and students of oil painting called "A Parade of Art Students in Paris." They were dressed as a French art student, a female model, a flower vender, a waiter at a café, and a beggar, and they sang songs in English and in French (fig. 2.31).⁴²

⁴¹ On this discussion, see, Kojima, Kaoru. "*Hakubakai Seiritsu no Imi ni tsuite no Ichi Shiron*", (An Investigation of the Formation of the White Horse Society), in *Kindai Gasetsu*, no.5, 1997. pp. 108-124.

⁴² Hasegawa, Noboru. "*Bi-kô Jidai no Koto-nado*" (Memories on My Life at the Tokyo School of Fine Art).

Students of sculpture acted as “living sculptures” in the nude (fig. 2.32). These events were modelled after fetes at the ateliers of French artists. For example, there is a photograph of the atelier of Jean-Léon Gérôme in 1896 that shows students in fancy dress (fig. 2.33).⁴³ There is also a drawing of a *tableau vivant* of the same atelier in 1898, where some of male students dressed as women (fig. 2.34).⁴⁴ Such excitements well reflected the homosocial atmosphere in the ateliers. A student at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts wrote the following in his memoirs:

We all displayed the bohemian way of life. We sang together the *Chaka-hoi* song and cavorted along the streets in the center of Tokyo. We seldom went to school and we preferred to paint or to drink at home. I remember that it was Professor Iwamura who taught us art history, who had introduced such an atmosphere to the art school. He fascinated us by telling us about the casual lifestyle of art students in Paris and we admired it very much.⁴⁵

Iwamura Tôru (1870-1917) went to the United States of America in 1888 to study art. He moved to Paris and entered the Academy Julien in 1891. He published *Pari no Bijutsu Gakusei* (*Art Students in Paris*) in 1902, which introduced Japanese readers to the daily lives of art students in the art academy in Paris.⁴⁶ The masculine camaraderie at the art school in Paris was

in *Tokyo Geijutsu Daigaku Hyakunen-shi: Tokyuo Bijutsu Gakkô-hen* (*One Hundred History of the Tokyo National University of Fine Arts & Music: Tokyo School of Fine Arts*), vol.2, Tokyo: Gyôsei, 1992, p. 231. On the detail of *Bijutsu-sai* and its relation with ateliers in France, see Imahashi, Eiko. *Ito Shôkei: Nihon-jin no Pari* (*Admiration for Paris: Paris dreamed by Japanese*), Tokyo: Kashiwa-shobô, 1993, pp.180-189.

⁴³ Lafont-Couturier, Hélène. *Gérôme*, Paris: Edition Herscher, 1998, p.29.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, p.30.

⁴⁵ *Tokyo Geijutsu Daigaku Hyakunen-shi: Tokyuo Bijutsu Gakkô-hen* vol.2, Tokyo: Gyôsei, 1992, p.130. The original text is: 「(我々の同級は [中略]) 何れも劣らずボヘミアンを発揮してゐた。例のチャカホイ節を大いに流行らせたり、銀座を踊り練つたり、そして餘り学校へ出ずに家で描いたり酒を飲んだりすることの方が多し位だつた。美校にあゝいふ空気を作つた人は、今思ふとあの美術史を受持つてゐた岩村 [透] 先生であるやうに思ふ。先生は巴里の画家の奔放な生活を説いて、学生を大いに興奮感激せしめたやうなわけである。」

⁴⁶ On Iwamura Tôru and his promotion of the bohemian life of art students in Japan, see, Imahashi, Eiko. *Ito Shôkei: Nihon-jin no Pari*, 1993.

transplanted to Tokyo, and now it enabled young men from the Japanese countryside to participate in the urban life of Tokyo.

Chapter 3 Making Images of “Kimono Beauty” as a National Symbol

3.1 Reception of Western dress in the early Meiji period

After Japan began to establish diplomatic relations with Western countries, “women in kimono” was a kind of Japanese icon. It did not mean that the Japanese did not wear Western clothes at all. Those who first changed the custom of wearing kimono were the imperial family. Prior to the establishment of the Meiji government, the emperor conventionally received only a very limited number of visitors in the imperial court and spent most of his time surrounded by court ladies. However, after becoming the head of state, it became necessary to grant foreign ambassadors audiences with the emperor. At the same time, the Meiji Empress needed to present herself before the public in the manner of the queens of Western countries. In 1872, the Meiji government distributed photographs of the emperor and the empress to ambassadors (fig. 3.1).¹ In these photographs, the monarchs were dressed in the traditional costume used at formal ceremonies of the court. The Emperor wore ‘*Sokutai*’ and the Empress wore ‘*Jûni-hitoe*’. However, the government soon realized that these photographs succeeded only in attracting ethnological interest among Westerners.

In 1873, the government adopted Western-style uniforms for men in military service and commissioned a photograph of the emperor clothed likewise in a Western-style uniform (fig. 3.2).² In addition to the emperor’s uniform, his moustache, beard, and sword give him a much more Westernised and masculine appearance than in his earlier photograph. The emperor in Western uniform seemed to represent Japanese Westernisation while the empress in traditional dress was part of Japanese cultural identity. The Meiji

¹ Kunai-chô, ed., *Meiji Tenô-ki (A Chronicle of the Meiji Emperor)* vol. 2, Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kôbunkan, 1969, p. 739.

² Kunai-chô, ed., *Meiji Tenô-ki*, vol. 3, 1969, p. 134.

government ordered an Italian painter named Giuseppe Ugolini to paint portraits based on these photos in order to decorate the Palace (fig. 3.3). This pair of asymmetrical portraits prognosticated a gendered role of Japanese kimono that had become a national fashion. This pair of portraits was not only for publicity for foreign countries but also attracted Japanese public interest. The portraits of the emperor and the empress were run off in mass-produced prints (fig. 3.4).

However, on 23 June 1886, the Meiji government renewed the regulation of female court dress and declared that the empress and court ladies should wear Western clothes as the need arose.³ On 17 January 1887, an informal note to encourage women to wear Western dress was issued in the name of the empress.⁴ Foreign advisors employed by the Meiji government regarded this reform with disfavour. For example, Dr. Erwin O. E. von Bälz, a German medical doctor, complained of the oddity of Japanese women in Western dress to a high government minister, Itô Hirobumi. Itô, however, answered, “You know nothing about politics. Japanese women dressed in traditional clothes are not treated as equal by Westerners, but regarded as something akin to dolls.”⁵ Itô understood that when the empress and court ladies dressed in traditional garb they were gazed at by Westerners as specimens of the exotic “other.”

In the new official portrait in 1888, the empress was shown fully dressed in a *mantle de court* (fig. 3.5). She was also furnished with a set of bound Japanese (or Chinese) books and flowers in a Chinese-style vase on a small table, while the emperor appeared in simple military garb. Perhaps the empress's portrait follows the iconography of images of “a wise woman” formed in the Edo period and the books beside her were intended to signify her intelligence. Such iconography originated in Chinese culture and was used in

³ Kunai-chô, ed., *Meiji Tenô-ki*, vol. 6, 1971, p. 602.

⁴ Kunai-chô, ed., *Meiji Tenô-ki*, vol. 6, 1971, pp. 680-681.

⁵ Bälz, Toku. ed., *Berutsu no Nikki (Diaries of Dr. Bälz)*, vol.2, Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1977, pp. 149-150.

representations of intellectuals.⁶ A stack of books and vase of flowers had been common attributes of beauty and wisdom in paintings and prints of women since about the mid-eighteenth century (fig. 3.6). Thus, although the empress had to wear Western dresses in her capacity as a representative of Japan, official representations of her were not merely copies of portraits of European queens, but included cultural signifiers of East Asia. Moreover, even the Western dresses of the empress were made with Japanese cloth and Japanese-style embroidery. One of the *mantles de court* of the empress is decorated with detailed embroideries of chrysanthemum, which is a symbol of the Imperial family (fig. 3.7). Based on the photograph, a number of the same images of the empress in Western dress were reproduced in prints regardless of her real age (fig. 3.8).⁷

The Europeanisation policy of the Meiji government was at its peak when *Rokumei-kan* (*Deer Cry Pavilion*), designed by Josiah Conder (1852-1920), opened in 1883. The Meiji government held parties at *Rokumei-kan* inviting foreign guests, where dignitaries of the government had to join them, and their wives wore Western-style dress and gathered there (fig. 3.9). Western-style dress even prevailed among some geisha in Tokyo, whose look was popularised by lithographs (fig. 3.10).

However, such government promotion of Western culture declined by around 1890 and a countermovement occurred. A handbook for the public titled *Ifuku to Ryûkô* (*Clothes and Fashion*) published in 1895 reported that Western-style clothes for women were not in fashion any more, with the

⁶ Nakamachi, Keiko. "Nihon Kinsei Bijutsu ni okeru Bunjinshumi no Kenkyû 1" (Scholar's Objects in Early-modern Japanese Art 1), in *Jissen Joshi Daigaku Bigaku Bijutsushi Gaku* (*The Review of Art History Department of Jissen Women's University, Tokyo*), no.13, 1998, pp. 47-77. Kojima, Kaoru. "Chûgoku-fuku no Josei zô ni miru Kindai Nihon no Aidentiti Keisei" (The images of woman in Chinese dress and formation of Japanese national identity), in *Annual Reports of Studies of the Faculty of Letters of Jissen Women's University, Tokyo*, no. 44, 2002, pp. 17-37.

⁷ I researched major collections of popular lithographs at the Kawasaki City Museum, The International Prints Museum, Machida, and the Komoike collection. On other lithographs, I referred to "Sekihanga Chôsa Sômokuroku" (A Catalogue of Lithographs Researched) in a catalogue, *Egakareta Meiji Nippon: Sekihan-ga (ritogurafu) no jidai, Kenkyu-hen* (*Meiji Nippon in Pictures: the Age of Lithographs, a volume of Research Reports*), Kobe City Museum, 2002, pp. 69-301.

exception of court dresses.⁸ In other words, formal dress in the Western style became privileged fashion for the upper class as a mark of distinction. The covers of magazines for young women often bore photos of the female members of the imperial family in Western-style dresses, setting up these images as those of ideal women.

3.2 Images of Japanese women in kimono under Westerners' gaze

When Japan participated in the international exhibition in an official capacity for the first time in 1867, three Japanese women served tea in a Japanese-style pavilion. Magazines reported on these Japanese women with illustrations. One of them in *Le Monde Illustré*, 31 August 1867, shows how curiously European people gazed at Japanese women in kimono (fig. 3.11).⁹

"Japanese" women wearing kimono-like costume also made appearances in operas and comedies such as "*Kojiki*" and "*Yedda*" performed by French actresses.¹⁰ The huge success in 1896 of Sidney Johns's operetta titled *The Geisha: A Story of a Tea House* helped popularise the word "geisha" in Europe.¹¹ In literature, *Madame Chrysanthème* by Pierre Loti first published in 1888 is one of the most famous portrayal of Japanese woman seen by male French in literature (fig. 3.12). These performances and the novel told love stories about European men and young Japanese women who were in most cases geishas. They reflected the gendered structure of the relationship between the modernised West and the undeveloped land of Japan.

In 1900, a group of geisha from Tokyo went to Paris helped by the success of *The Geisha*, and showed musical and dance performances around Europe.¹²

⁸ Ohashi, Matatarō. ed., *Nichiyō Hyakka Zensho Dai 6 hen: Ifuku to Ryūkō (Encyclopaedia for Dairy Use, volume6: Clothes and Fashion)*, Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1895, pp. 129-130.

⁹ Reprinted in *Rumondo Iryusutore: Nihon Kankei Sashie-shū (Le Monde Illustré: Illustration on Japan)*, Yokohama, Yokohama Kaikō Shiryōkan, 1988, p. 52.

¹⁰ Mabuchi, Akiko. "*Butai no Ue no Nihon: 1870 Nenndai no Parī*", (Japan on the Scene in Paris in 1870s), in *Nihon Joshi Daigaku Kiyō*, no. 12, 2001, pp.169-188.

¹¹ Hashimoto, Yōrimitsu. "*Chaya no Tenshi: Eikoku Seiki-matsu no Operetta Geisha, 1896 to sono Rekishi-tōki Haikeri*" (The Angel in the Tea House: Representations of Victorian paradise and Playground in *The Geisha*, 1896), in *Japonisumu Kenkyū*, Tokyo: Japonisumu-gakkai, no. 23, 2003, pp. 30-49.

¹² Shinoda, Kōzō. *Meiji Hyaku-wa (One Hundred Short Stories in Meiji)*, Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2003, pp.173-185.

It is well known that an ex-geisha named Sada-yakko; an actress of the theatrical company of Kawakami Otojirô made a huge success in Paris (fig. 3.13). They played at the Loie Fuller theatre during the Paris Exposition Universelle of 1900. Her performances inspired a fashion of a dressing gown named 'Kimono Sada Yakko'¹³(fig. 3.14). The fact that kimono-like dressing gowns were designed proved that Japanese women in kimono were still associated with a kind of sexual fantasy.

An oil painting by Marie-François-Firmin Girard (1838-1921) titled *La Toilette de japonaise* (*The Japanese Toilet*) (1873) showed a nude woman playing a Japanese guitar in a Japanese room.¹⁴ It clearly illustrated an imaginative geisha as gazed upon by a male European painter. The fact that this painting was reproduced into a full-page illustration of *L'Illustration*¹⁵ (fig. 3.15) testifies that the painting attracted public interest in France. Another magazine reproduced an oil painting by Adrien Moreau that depicted French people watching a stage of Japanese performers in a park (fig. 3.16). The painter could have opportunities to see performances of dances and songs by Japanese women, but he must have added his imaginative influences to produce this painting as well. It shows a good contrast of a kind of stereotyped images of "brutal" samurai and "cheerful" Japanese geisha.¹⁶ Whereas male Japanese were shown in armour with a Japanese sword in his hand, female Japanese were performing merrily in kimonos.

Though male Japanese tried to shed such images of "cruel" samurai by dressing in Western attire in Paris as we will discuss later, they sent images of

¹³ Fukai, Akiko. "Kimono Sada-yakko" (Kimono Sada-yakko), in *Kawakami Otojirô to 1900 nen Pari Bankoku Hakurankai*, (Kawakami Otojirô and Exposition Universelle in Paris in 1900), Fukuoka: Fukuoka City Museum, 2000, pp. 132-135.

¹⁴ On this painting, see, Miura, Atsushi. "Saron ni okeru Nihon Shumi: 1850nen-1880nen no Pari no Saron ni Happyô sareta Nihon o Shudai tosuru Kaiga Sakuhin ni Kansuru Kenkyû" (Japonisme in the Salon: a Research on Paintings with Subjects related to Japan exhibited in the Salon in 1850-1880), in *Bijutsushi Ronsô*, Tokyo: Tokyo University, no. 6, 1993, pp. 193-209.

¹⁵ The issue of Autumn 30 1873.

¹⁶ Saeki Junko pointed out that Japanese geisha and samurai were both regarded as symbols of sexuality in "the imagined 'Orient' by the Western people". See, Saeki, Junko. "'Geisha' no Hakken: 'Tasha-ka' sareru Nippon" (Discovery of 'Geisha': Japan gazed as the 'Other'), in Shimamoto, Hiroshi; Kasuya, Makoto. ed., *Bijutsushi to Tasha* (Art History and the 'Other'), Kyoto, Kôyôshobô, 2000, pp. 117-152.

contemporary Japanese woman in kimono to the Paris Exposition Universelle of 1900. Kuroda sent four paintings depicting a young Japanese woman in kimono in natural surroundings, such as *Kohan (Lakeside)* (fig. 3.17) and *Kokage (Under the Trees)* (fig. 3.18) as well as *Chi Kan Jô (Wisdom, Impression and Sentiment)*, which represented three Japanese women in the nude. *Chihan Nôryô (Summer Evening at Lakeside)* (fig. 3.19) by Fujishima Takeji showed two young women in kimono enjoying the cool of the evening. *Keiko (A Musical Lesson)* by Shirataki Ikunosuke (fig. 3.20) represented a group of young women and female children practicing the Japanese guitar and songs. It was a scene of ordinary life in Tokyo in those days. Such images of Japanese young women playing music may have reminded Europeans of geisha. Japanese male artists showed Japanese women in kimonos to Western viewers as an icon of the exotic land of Japan.

3.3 Wada Eisaku and his representation of a woman in kimono

Wada Eisaku, who was one of the central figures in the *Pantheon-kai*, completed two major works during his stay in Paris from 1900 to 1903: one was titled *Shikyô (Homesickness)* (fig. 3.21), which was accepted by the *Salon des Artists Française* in 1902. The other was *Kodama (Echo)* (fig. 3.22), which was sent to Japan as soon as it was finished on 7 January 1903,¹⁷ and was shown at the fifth *Naikoku Kangyô Hakurankai* (National Industrial Exhibition) in Osaka in 1903. What is interesting in these two works is their contrast. While *Shikyô* represents a Japanese woman in kimono standing in an apartment in Paris, *Kodama* shows a French woman half nude.

Wada wrote that he had the idea of the subject for “Echo” when he was in the gallery of antique sculptures in The Louvre. A tour guide was talking about a mysterious phenomenon in the room to a group of American tourists: if one

¹⁷ Wada, Eisaku. “*Pari no Shin-nen Seikatsu: Jûninen mae no Nikki yon*” (A New year in Paris: Extracts from a Diary of 12 Years Ago), in *Bijutsu Shimpô*, vol. 14, no. 3, January 1915, p. 42. Wada almost finished the painting in 1902, and signed in the painting as “EISAKU WADA PARIS 1902” in the lower right.

whispered to a marble basin, the voice echoed from another marble basin in another part of the room. Wada recounted his thoughts at having heard this as follows:

What came up in my mind at that time was that the antique sculptures in marble or bronze in the room seemed like a grove of dead trees. I imagined that a beautiful woman with a half-animal body was in the grove, and that she was surprised by the rebounding of her own voice, or “echo.”¹⁸

In *Kodama*, a woman winds a thin white cloth on the lower half of her body and stands among the trees with her hands at her ears. This is reminiscent of Collin, who had made works in which a nude nymph like woman was standing in the woods. The subject of “Echo” was not rare at that time, and Cabanel had even painted a work with the same title before.¹⁹ This was the last work that Wada finished in Paris. Just as Kuroda had painted *Chôshô* at the end of his stay in France, Wada also worked on a female nude to show his progress. It should be noted that hiring a professional to model half nude was expensive for an art student. *Kodama*, like *Chôshô*, was also purchased by Sumitomo Shunsui, one of Saionji Kimmochi’s brothers. At a time when very few Japanese collected oil paintings, Sumitomo Shunsui, advised by his brother who had studied in Paris, was one of the few big collectors. I presume that Kuroda asked the Sumitomo family to purchase *Kodama*. Eight years after *Chôshô*’s installation in 1895 in the fourth *Naikoku Kangyô Hakurankai* in Kyoto, this painting was shown at the fifth *Naikoku Kangyô Hakurankai* in Osaka in 1903. Both Kuroda Seiki’s *Chôshô* and Wada Eisaku’s *Kodama* were painted in Europe and exhibited in Japan,

¹⁸ Wada, Eisaku. “*Gadan no Yonjûnen: Ashiato o kaeri mite, 62*” (Recalling Forty years of My Life in the Art World, no.62), *Tokyo Maiyû Shimbun*, 12 December 1937. Original text in Japanese is: 「その時に私の胸に浮んだのは、此の室に陳列された大理石やブロンズの古彫刻は丁度枯木の林のやうだと云ふことでありました。その枯木の林の中に、半人半獣の美しい乙女が唯一人居て、自分の発した声の反響、即ち『こだま』に驚くと云ふやうな構図でありました。」

¹⁹ Tan’o, Yasunori. “*Wada Eisaku: Seikimatsu no Kodama*” (Wada Eisaku: Echo in the Fin-de-siècle), in *Hikaku Bungaku Nenshi (Annales de littérature comparée)*, Tokyo: Waseda University, no. 21, March 1985. Tan’o, Yasunori. “*Wada Eisaku: Seikimatsu no Kodama, Ho*” (A Supplement to Wada Eisaku: Echo in the Fin-de-siècle), in *Hikaku Bungaku Nenshi*, Tokyo: Waseda University, no. 22, March 1986.

and they both painted nude European female models in Paris to bring back to Japan. As Norman Bryson argues, the bodies of European women were crucial for Kuroda and his fellow painters because

The process of cultural assimilation was figured through a female iconography; the relationship between the men who ruled the modern world was visualized across the bodies of women whom modernity excluded, in a process that might be called “transnational voyeurism.”²⁰

The nude paintings of European women that Kuroda and his colleagues painted in Paris testified to the fact that they themselves had become members of a modernised male European society. Coming back to Japan, they proudly exhibited such nude paintings to certify their status as *shin-kichôsha*, or “new returnees” from Europe. Unlike Kuroda’s case, *Kodama* did not cause controversy over the representation of nude forms, possibly because the woman depicted had a cloth on the lower part of her body.

Shikyô was painted for a French audience with the intention of being accepted by the Salon. For this reason, he chose a Japanese woman in kimono as a subject. Wada wrote in his later years that he followed other Japanese students in Paris, because they often wrote their graduate theses on Japanese subjects.²¹ Wada already knew well about *japonisme* fashion in Europe, because he had worked under a collector of Japanese art and books named Adolf Fischer in Berlin for about two months prior to his stay in Paris. Paris was a centre for the vogue of *japonisme*, and as we have discussed before, the Japanese kimono and geisha were well known. In fact, the woman whom Wada asked to be a model for his painting had worked at a Japanese teahouse in the

²⁰ Bryson, Norman. “Yôga and the Sexual Structure of Cultural exchange” in *Human Figure in the Visual Arts of East Asia: International Symposium on the Preservation of Cultural property*, 1994, p. 27.

²¹ Wada, Eisaku. “*Gadan no Yonjûnen: Ashiato o Kaeri-mite*, 56” (Recalling Forty years of My Life in the Art World, no. 56), in *Maikyûshimbun*, Tokyo: *Maikyûshimbun*, 1 December 1934.

international exhibition with another Japanese woman.²² Wada could expect that French juries of the Salon would have a favourable impression of an image of Japanese women in kimonos.

According to the artist's account of the production of this work, it started out as a painting of a Japanese woman standing in an apartment looking at the Eiffel tower through a window on a large canvas.²³ Wada explained,

At first, the width of this painting was twice as large as at present, and I painted roofs of apartments and the Eiffel tower against the glow of the sky at sunset outside the window; I wanted to express the scenery of Paris. I added on the balcony a pot of a hydrangea, which is known to have Japanese origin, and I intended to express the homesickness of the Japanese woman.²⁴

Wada's composition was to highlight the contrast between a Japanese woman and the cityscape of Paris. However, his teacher, Collin, argued that French viewers would easily understand the Japanese woman's feeling of alienation just by seeing her standing in a French apartment wearing a kimono.²⁵

Therefore, Wada followed his teacher's advice, and cut off the left part of the cityscape. This episode reveals more than simply that he had improved a bad composition: when Wada conceived of the idea of the subject of "homesickness," he composed the painting as though he was in the position of the Japanese model. The painter depicted the scenery outside of the window as if he traced the eyes of the woman and looked out onto the city of Paris with nostalgia. Sketching the Eiffel tower served as a good souvenir for his own stay

²² Ishii, Hakutei. *Hakutei Jiden (An Autobiography by Hakutei)*, Tokyo: Chûôkôron Bijutsu Shuppan, 1971, pp. 82-87.

²³ Wada, Eisaku. "Shikyô no Yurai" (Making of 'Shikyô'), in *Nihon Bijutsu*, Tokyo: Nihon Bijutsuin, no. 82, 7 December 1905, pp. 5-6.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 5. Japanese text is: 「最初彼の絵は横に倍程ありまして、窓の外には巴里の家々の家根が見えて、空には夕焼がパツツとして、エッフェル塔も見える（巴里を表はすつもりです）手摺には紫陽花の鉢（此花は日本の花として知られて居ますから）これで故郷を思ふ心を利かせたのです。」

²⁵ Ibid., p. 5, and Wada, Eisaku. "Gadan no Yonjûnen: Ashiato o Kaeri-mite, 57" (Memoirs of Forty Years of a Painters Life, no. 57), in *Tokyo Maiyûshimbun*, 9 December 1934.

in Paris.

However, having implemented Collin's suggestion, Wada altered the painting for French viewers by placing himself in the position of the French male viewer. In other words, he internalized the European gaze for the Japanese woman in kimono and painted her as "exotic." By representing Japanese women in kimono through the Westernised gaze, Japanese oil painters who had been to Europe identified themselves as modernised men. Such paintings as well as the nude paintings that they brought to Japan from Europe bolstered their chances for career success in Japan.

3.4 Invention of kimono as a "national dress"

After the 1880s, mass-produced lithographs became popular and were sold at stores specialising in prints and books. Newspapers included lithograph pictures as supplements to increase their circulation. The main subjects of these lithographs were contemporary scenes, such as famous modern architecture in Tokyo. Portraits of the imperial families, as we have examined, attracted public interest, but those of geisha were also the best-sellers. The geisha was a kind of fashion leader in the Meiji period, and their images reflected a fashion sense that prevailed at the time. Geisha lithographs were printed in black and white, and then coloured with inexpensive pigments by hand. Though they do not reliably duplicate the precise original colours of kimono, we can see from these prints that kimono in this period were quite simple in design and they were often accented with *han'eri* (neckbands). For example, *Kihachijō*, a kind of kimono with yellow and black stripes, was said to be in vogue around 1880.²⁶ *Shimbashi Meigi Kotama* (*Kotama, a Famous Geisha in Shimbashi*), 1886 (fig. 3.23) shows the subject wearing *Kihachijō*. Lithographs provide evidence that the fashion of *Kihachijō* continued even until

²⁶ A recollection of Motono Hisako introduced in Kojima, Kaoru. "Toyō-juku sotsugyō sei, Motono Hisako ni tsuite" (Biography of Motono Hisako: a Graduate of Tōyō-juku established by Shimoda Utako), in *Annual Reports of Studies of the Faculty of Letters of Jissen Women's University*, no. 48, 2006, p.21.

the end of the 1880s. A few examples of kimono with patterns of butterflies and flowers are seen at the end of the 1880s (fig. 3.24), which were ahead of a new vogue.

According to *Tokyo Fûzoku-shi (Tokyo Life-style)* written by Hiraide Kôjirô in 1899-1902, Tokyo fashion changed markedly after the Japanese victory in the Sino-Japanese war in 1895.²⁷ First, Western-style clothes became popular for men, while women still wore kimonos. Second, tastes in kimono fashion changed from a delicate sensibility to something much bolder. Before the Sino-Japanese war, most people wore kimonos of sober colours with subtle patterns. However, after the war, kimonos in dark colours with distinct patterns became popular. *Ifuku to Ryûkô* reported in 1895 that new dyes imported from Western countries had increased the variety of colours of kimonos.²⁸

The operators of the Mitsui kimono shop in Tokyo were the first to perceive the “victorious” mood of the Japanese people and they launched a new marketing campaign to tap this sentiment. Their promotion of luxurious kimono for urban bourgeois women contributed to the historical process of constructing a “national dress” in modern Japan.

Takahashi Yoshio, an executive of the Mitsui Kimono shop, produced a newly designed kimono and called it *Date-moyô* (Smart Design), which consisted of patterns of willow, cherry blossom and butterflies dyed onto yellow silk.²⁹ The five most popular geisha in Tokyo were commissioned by the Mitsui Kimono shop to wear this kimono, and dance to a song that Takahashi produced.³⁰ He revived the traditional system of selling *tan-mono* (rolled cloth used for making kimonos) and displayed many products in the shop as in a Western department store.³¹ The shop also published a poster to explain the

²⁷ Hiraide, Kôjirô. *Tokyo Fûzoku-shi (Life-style in Tokyo)*, Tokyo, Yasaka Shobô, 1991, pp. 171-183.

²⁸ Ohashi, Matatarô. ed., *Nichiyô Hyakka Zensho Dai 6 hen: Ifuku to Ryûkô (Encyclopaedia for Daily Use, volume 6: Clothes and Fashion)*, 1895, pp. 18-129.

²⁹ Takahashi, Yoshio. *Houki no Ato*, (An Autobiography of Takahashi Yoshio), vol. 1, Tokyo, Shûhōen, 1933, p. 267.

³⁰ Ibid, pp. 267-268.

³¹ On the renewal of the Mitsui Kimono shop, Hatsuda, Tôru. *Hyakkaten no Tanjô (The Birth of Department Stores)*, Tokyo: Chikuma Shobô, 1999, pp. 75-102.

new style of selling kimonos (fig. 3.25). The Mitsui kimono shop later established the Mitsukoshi Company in 1904, and publicly claimed that they aimed to be the first Japanese department store.

Mitsukoshi strived to produce a newly designed kimono that would be a style of formal dress for Japanese women. In a speech about fashion, Takahashi, said that Japanese clothes would change under the influence of Western fashion.³² Japanese did not have a vogue in design of kimono so that a grandmother could give her kimono in her young age to her granddaughter. Takahashi argued that kimono for Japanese women should be gorgeous in design to be attractive when socialising with Westerners at parties. In particular, an updated design for the collar and a breast of the kimono was needed. Yet, he also said that Japanese people should have their own taste, which he identified with the term *sabi*, a word originally associated with the love for the tea ceremony and the ink paintings of the fifteenth century. He also said Japanese had examples of good colour coordination in art; for example, the decorated papers for the album of *Sanjûrokunin-shû* (*Anthology of the Thirty-six Master Poets*) (fig. 3. 26) and *Heike Nôkyô* (*Sutras Donated by the Taira Clan*) in the twelfth century (fig. 3 27). In accordance with this executive policy, Mitsukoshi developed new designs for kimonos modelled on Japanese artworks. The retailer held exhibitions devoted to the artist Ogata Kôrin (1658-1715) in 1904 and opened *Kôrin Zuan-kai* (Exhibition of Kôrin-style Design) at the same time.³³ Asai Chû, who studied in Paris, found that Kôrin's art had similarities with Art Nouveau in abstract expression with plants and flowers in curving form, and encouraged young artists in Kyoto to invent modern designs for ceramics and lacquer wares in the early 1900s.³⁴ The art of Kôrin school was called *Rimpa*, which included the works of Sôtatsu and his

³² Takahasi, Yoshio. "Ryûkô-dan" (Speech on Fashion), in Hibi, Osuke. ed., *Harumoyô* (Kimono Design for Spring), 1900, Tokyo: Tokyo Insatsu Kabushiki Gaisha, pp. 65-76.

³³ Mitsukoshi Ltd. ed., *Kabushiki Gaisha Mitsukoshi Hyakunen no Kiroku* (A Record of 100 years of Mitsukoshi Ltd.), Tokyo: Dai Nippon Insatsu, 2005, pp. 62-63.

³⁴ Marquet, Christophe. "Pari no Asai Chû: Zuan eno Mezame"(Asai Chû in Paris: His Awakening of Zuan), in *Kindai Gasettsu*, no.1, Tokyo: Meiji Bijutsu Gakkai, 1992, pp12-52.

atelier (modelled after Kôrin) as well as those of Sakai Hôitsu (1761-1829), who had learned Kôrin's art through his works. Works of *Rimpa* were gradually regarded as typical in Japanese art.

Mitsukoshi held a competition and awarded a prize for the best Kôrin-style design for kimono as well. In the next year, they held a contest for *Genroku-fû Zuan* (Genroku style design) and advertised their new style of kimono known as the *Genroku Moyô* (Genroku Pattern) (fig. 3.28), which was a reference to the *Genroku* Period (1688-1703), which was when Kôrin was active. Takahashi again produced a musical dance piece titled *Genroku Hanami Odori* (A *Genroku Flower-viewing Dance*), and popular geishas danced to the music (fig. 3.29).³⁵ This retailing initiative, which also included another exhibition to commemorate the 200th year of Kôrin's death in 1915, promoted the appreciation of Kôrin as exemplary of the uniqueness of Japanese art.³⁶ The activity of Mitsukoshi was made with the clear aim to construct a "national dress" for modern Japan.

In addition to selling kimonos, Mitsukoshi expanded their product line: cosmetics, umbrella, shoes, bags and toys. They announced that they would become a "Harrods in Asia" in 1907, and supplied facilities for urban life and, indeed, offered a comprehensive model of modern life. Mitsukoshi designed and constructed the interiors of the new buildings of the Japanese ambassador in Paris in 1906-08. Rooms were created in a modernised Japanese manner, and the ambassador's "Bamboo Room" was recreated in the Mitsukoshi store in Tokyo (fig. 3. 30).³⁷ After retiring from Mitsukoshi, Takahashi became famous as a producer of sophisticated tea ceremonies for rich businessmen.³⁸ Mitsukoshi's initiatives to produce urban lifestyles for the bourgeois led to the invention of new Japanese cultural identities.

³⁵ Takahashi, Yoshio. *Houki no Ato*, vol.1, 1933, pp. 415-418.

³⁶ On the process of "rediscovery" of Kôrin, see, Tamamushi, Satoko. *Ikitsuzukeru Kôrin (Eternal Kôrin)*, Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kôbunkan, 2004.

³⁷ Hatsuda, Tôru. *Hyakkaten no Tanjô*, 1999, p.195-197, and Mitsukoshi no Ayumi Henshû linkai ed., *Mitsukoshi no Ayumi (History of Mitsukoshi)*, Tokyo: Mitsukoshi Ltd. ed., 1954, p.17.

³⁸ On the relationship of tea ceremony with Japanese modern industry, see, Guth, Christine M.E., *Art, Tea, and Industry: Masuda Takashi and the Mitsui Circle*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.

As the Japanese word “kimono” originally means “things to wear,” the word “wa-fuku,” has come to be used for the traditional style clothes in general in contrasted with the word “yô-fuku.” “Wa” means “Japanese” and “fuku” means clothes whereas “yô” means “Western.” After the Western-style clothes were introduced to Japan, various types of kimono that had differed from one’s status and profession were abstracted and widely categorised in “wa-fuku.” This process is quite similar with the formation of *nihon-ga* that was discussed by Satô Dôshin.³⁹ Different schools of traditional pictures were put into a category called *nihon-ga* after the Western-style paintings were introduced to Japan. Thus, it is very natural that the discussion on kimono linked with modern Japanese art is to be an important topic of national identity in our discussion.

The kimonos that Mitsukoshi promoted, however, were exclusively women’s kimonos. In contrast, for male customers, Mitsukoshi opened a division for Western clothes and imported Western suits in 1906 and invited a tailor from London.⁴⁰ The “national dress” that was also created in the nascent European countries of the modern age in the course of reviving national history was worn mainly by women.⁴¹ Thus, women were to embody the national identity while men were to join modern European society.

3.5 Popularisation of “kimono beauty”

Mitsukoshi adopted Western advertising styles, and publicised its products through various media. From 1899, the company began to use installations of large hoardings at major railway stations featuring life-size paintings of women wearing kimonos by Mitsukoshi. The first hoarding was installed in the Shimbashi station (fig. 3.31).⁴² The model for the two images of a woman was a geisha named Kofumi. Mitsukoshi also published catalogues with illustrations

³⁹ Satô, Dôshin. *‘Nihon Bijutsu’ Tanjô (The Birth of ‘Japanese Art’)*, Tokyo: Kôdansha, 1996.

⁴⁰ Mitsukoshi Ltd. ed., *Kabushiki Gaisha Mitsukoshi Hyakunen no Kiroku*, 2005, p.67.

⁴¹ Blom, Ida; Hagemann, Karen; Hall, Catherine. eds., *Gendered Nations: Nationalisms and Gender Order in the Long Nineteenth Century*, Oxford; New York: Berg, 2000, pp. 11-14.

⁴² Hatsuda, Tôru. *Hyakkaten no Tanjô*, 1999, pp.96-97, and Mitsukoshi Ltd. ed., *Kabushiki Gaisha Mitsukoshi Hyakunen no Kiroku*, 2005, p. 36.

of their new products from 1899, which were eventually replaced by a monthly magazine titled *Jikô* (*Taste of Today*) in August 1903. One of the books titled *Harumoyô* (*Designs for Spring*) reprinted newspaper articles that reported on the hoarding at Shimbashi station. One of the articles originally in the *Hôchi-shimbun* that was reprinted in *Harumoyô* gave a detailed explanation of the patterns, colour, and the texture of the silk for the kimono that the model wore on the hoarding.

The picture was painted by one of Mitsukoshi's designers, Shimazaki Ryûu (1865-1937), who explored naturalistic expression in Japanese-style painting. One of his masterpieces, *Biin* (*Beautiful Music*) (fig. 3.32) won the second prize at *Tokyo Kangyô Hakurankai* (Tokyo Industrial Exhibition) in 1907. In this picture, Shimazaki chose a composition to show only the audience of a music performance, without showing any image of the performer. Carpets, wooden doors, and an ink painting on the folded screen in the interior were reproduced in detail, but it seems to have been difficult for him to make full reproduction of each material in reality in a Japanese-style painting. In the case of the hoardings for Mitsukoshi, we can surmise that his painting could not reveal sufficient information about the texture of the kimono, and so supplemental explanations in the newspaper's article were necessary.

Compared to the attention given to the hoarding by Shimazaki, the fact that Yamamoto Hôsui also made a hoarding for Mitsukoshi has been virtually ignored. It was, however, reproduced in a monograph on Yamamoto (fig. 3. 33), where it was described as having been hung on the wall in Shimbashi station around 1897.⁴³ Kuroda Seiki mentioned it in his recollection of Yamamoto: "He was very careful to paint in detail the difference in texture of kimono, such as *chirimen* (silk crepe) and *habutae* (satin), and made a great effort to express delicateness and elegance."⁴⁴ Yamamoto learned academic oil painting in

⁴³ In, Nagao, Ippei. *Yamamoto Hôsui*, Tokyo: Nagao Ippei, 1940.

⁴⁴ Kuroda, Seiki. "Yamamoto Hôsui no Itsu jô" (Recollection of Yamamoto Hôsui), in *Kaigasôshi*, Tokyo: Tôyôdô, no. 234, 1906, p. 15. The original text in Japanese is: 「其の緻密な点になると着物の縮緬から羽二重などにまで書分ける事に苦心して繊麗を極めて居つた。」

France under Jean-Léon Gérôme, and was good at in expressing the glossy surface of silk and embroideries with glittering threads. Among Yamamoto's works, *Fujinzô (A Portrait of a Woman)* (fig. 3.34) is a particularly good example by which to understand Kuroda's comment. This work may help us to imagine the hoardings of Mitsukoshi by Yamamoto. We can distinguish the various types of silk used in the kimono and accessories in this painting. It is not surprising that Mitsukoshi preferred oil painters to promote their new kimono to Japanese-style painters.

Wada Eisaku showed an oil painting titled *Aruka Nakika no Toge (Glimpse of a Thorn)* (fig. 3.35) at the ninth exhibition of the *Hakuba-kai* (White Horse Society) in 1904. The subject of *Aruka Nakika no Toge* was taken from a popular love story by Ihara Saikaku titled *Kôshoku Gonin On'na (Love Stories of Five Girls)* in 1686. Wada depicted the tragic love story of a girl named Oshichi with a young man, Kichisaburô. He used famous geishas as models for both figures, and they wore kimonos of the *Genroku*-style supplied by Mitsukoshi.⁴⁵ Ishii Hakutei wrote on this painting, "Wada Eisaku is the first painter in Japan who painted this kind of scene taken from a love story, though such subjects have been commonly taken on by European painters."⁴⁶ In fact, a Japanese-style painter, Kaburaki Kiyokata made signboards for theatres in the same year, representing a couple in the story (fig. 3.36). In contrast to Kiyokata's paintings, which expressed the characters' emotions using dramatic gestures, Wada expressed the scene in which the young couple became aware of their love for each other through delicate treatment of their hands and eyes. What was truly original in Wada's painting was the idealised manner in which he represented the figures. Compared to the images of geisha in popular lithographs in the 1880s that we have seen before, the figures in Wada's

⁴⁵ Fujishima, Takeji. "*Hakuba-kai Ga Hyô*" (A Review of the Exhibition of White Horse Society), in *Myôjô*, November 1904, Tokyo: Shinshisha, p. 24.

⁴⁶ Ishii, Hakutei. "*Hakuba-kai Ga Hyô*", in *Myôjô*, November 1904, p. 28. The original text in Japanese is : 「かゝる恋物語中のかゝる情景は、屢泰西人の畫題となり居たるも、之を本邦に於て畫きたるは、和田英作氏を以て初めとす。」

painting have egg-shaped, small faces with round eyes and large irises. There is even a distinct sparkle in the pupils, which renders these characters in a particularly attractive way.

Okada Saburôsuken showed a study for a painting titled *Genroku no Omokage* (*Reminiscence of the Genroku Era*) (fig. 3.37) at the same exhibition. Okada, who was Wada's colleague at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts and had also studied under Collin in France with him, depicted a woman's face in a similar manner, complete with egg-shaped face and a twinkle in her eyes. Okada's work attracted public attention just as Wada's *Aruka Nakika no Toge* had. He completed "*Genroku no Omokage*" in the following year and sent it to the tenth *Hakuba-kai* exhibition. Okada reported that he had interest in painting a subject of the Genroku era while he was in France. Having had this opportunity to paint *Genroku no Omokage* supported by Mitsukoshi, he borrowed a kimono of that period from a private collector for his model, and then he placed a Mitsukoshi kimono of *Genroku* design by Mitsukoshi behind the model.⁴⁷ Okada contrasted the two kimonos in the painting and illustrated the historical background of the *Genroku* design by Mitsukoshi. The completed work was hung at Shimbashi station.⁴⁸ It was reproduced in a postcard in 1906 (fig. 3. 38).⁴⁹

In these paintings, Wada and Okada created a new type of idealised beautiful Japanese woman using the techniques of French academic painting. As discussed in the previous chapter, Wada learned the European gaze for the Japanese woman in kimono, and we can presume that Okada, who had a very similar career to Wada, had the same kind of experience in Paris. Upon returning from Paris, they identified themselves as men as modernised as Europeans, and produced "idealised" images of Japanese women in kimono through the "Westernised" gaze. As European painters in the vogue of

⁴⁷ Okada, Saburôsuken. "*Genroku no Omokage*" (*Reminiscence of the Genroku Era*) by Okada Saburôsuken, in *Nihon Bijutsu*, no. 38, September 1905, pp.59-60.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p.60.

⁴⁹ On the lower left of the card, we can read English words "Banzai to the British Squadron. July, 1906."

japonisme, Wada and Okada painted gorgeous kimono in detail to enhance the beauty of the women in their paintings. Mitsukoshi, who aimed to be a leader of urban life of Tokyo, had commercial success by creating advertisements with these French-trained painters.

Okada painted a portrait of Takahashi Chiyoko (fig. 3.39), the wife of Takahashi Yoshio, and exhibited it at the *Tokyo Kangyô Hakurankai* (The Tokyo Exhibition for Industry) in 1907 where it won first prize. In this painting, Chiyoko wears a very luxurious kimono in the style of the early Edo period, and wears her hair in the fashion of the same period. There seems to be a folding screen with flowers and water painted on the golden surface. The screen seems to be an example of the *Rimpa* (Kôrin school). Chiyoko was said to be good at performing music with *tsuzumi* (a Japanese hand drum) and *koto* (a Japanese zither)⁵⁰ She had a slender face and eyes with long slits (fig. 3.40), but Okada carefully changed her profile into that of a “beautiful” woman of his own invention. Mitsukoshi published a poster from this painting in colour lithograph in 1909 under the title of *Murasaki no Shirabe* (*The Excellent performer of Tsuzumi*) (fig.3.41). This was an innovative project, because the model in the poster was not a geisha but a married woman of a bourgeois family. Okada painted two large hoardings for Mitsukoshi to exhibit in Shimbashi station in 1908: *Kan’ô no zu* (*Enjoying the cherry blossoms*) and *Kanpû no zu* (*Enjoying the Autumn leaves*) (figs. 3.42, 3.43). Instead of the images of geishas both paintings showed the images of wealthy family in Tokyo who enjoyed excursions in the suburbs. They illustrated kimonos for women of various ages. Mitsukoshi held a competition that offered a big prize for the best poster with an image of a woman in kimono. The first prize was won by Hashiguchi Goyô (1880-1921) with his picture titled *Kono Bijin* (*This Beautiful Woman*) in 1911 (fig. 3.44), which was published in colour lithograph. The original picture was exhibited in the Mitsukoshi shop along with other pictures of

⁵⁰ Takahashi, Yoshio. *Houki no Ato*, vol.1, 1933, pp. 485-486.

the lesser prize winners (fig. 3.45).

Before *Murasaki no Shirabe* was published in 1909, Okada produced another example of a “kimono beauty” in lithograph for the supplement of the new year’s issue of newspaper, *Jiji Shimpô* (*The Times Newspaper*) in 1908 (fig. 3.46), which was to advertise the first beauty contest in Japan.⁵¹ *The Chicago Tribune* had asked *Jiji Shimpô* to send them a photograph of the most beautiful woman in Japan to select the most beautiful woman in the world. *Jiji Shimpô* worked with other local newspaper companies to collect applicants from all over Japan. The first-prize-winner would be awarded a diamond ring, and several companies, including Mitsukoshi offered supplementary gifts for the winners.⁵² Okada painted a young woman in gorgeous kimono wearing a large diamond ring with a gold band as a reference to the contest’s first-prize winner. The original oil painting is still extant, and is known as *Daiyamondo no On’na* (*A Woman with a Diamond*) (fig. 3.47),⁵³ while the lithograph was titled *Yubiwa* (*A Ring*). Geisha and actresses were not eligible to participate in this contest, and the winner was a sixteen-year-old student from *Joshi Gakushûin*, which was a school for daughters of upper class and rich urban families. The applications and decisions were made based on the photographs (fig. 3.48), and their photographs were published in *Jiji Shimpô* under the title of *Nihon Bijin Chô* (*An Album of Beauties*) in 1908. The total number of judges was thirteen, which included two kabuki actors who played female roles and four other artists: Okada Saburôsukey, Shimazaki Ryûu (painters who worked with Mitsukoshi), and two sculptors, Takamura Kôun and Shinkai Taketarô. Takahashi Yoshio

⁵¹ On the detail of the beauty contests, see, Inoue, Shôichi, *Bijin Kontesto Hyakunen-shi* (*A One Hundred Years of the History of Beauty Contests*), Tokyo: Asahi Shimbunsha, 1997, pp. 8-74, and Shinjinbutsu Orai-sha ed., *Bakumatsu Meiji Bijin Chô* (*Albums of Beauties in the end of Edo and the Meiji Period*), Tokyo: Shinjinbutsu Orai-sha, 2001. On the beauty contest and the making of the lithograph by Okada, see, Satô, Michiko. “Okada Saburôsukey ‘Shôjo-zô’ to Bijin Shashin Kontesuto” (*Portrait of a Girl by Okada Saburôsukey and a Beauty Contest by Photographs*), in Pola Museum of Art ed., *Kuroda Seiki, Kishida Ryûsei no Jidai: Korekushon ni miru Meiji Taishô no Gaka tachi* (*The Age of Kuroda Seiki and Kishida Ryusei: Meiji and Taisho Era Painters from the Collection*), Pola Museum of Art, Pola Art Foundation, 2005, pp. 66-70.

⁵² Satô, Michiko. “Okada Saburôsukey ‘Shôjo-zô’ to Bijin Shashin Kontesuto”, in Pola Museum of Art ed., *Kuroda Seiki, Kishida Ryûsei no Jidai: Korekushon ni miru Meiji Taishô no Gaka tachi*, 2005, p.67.

⁵³ Okada signed and dated on the canvas as “S-OKADA 1908”. However, the newspaper reported the detail of the painting in the issue dated 5, December 1907, so it should have been almost finished by the time.

was also a member of the panel of judges. Just in the study of *Genroku no Omokage*, the girl in Okada's painting looked out at viewers with large eyes, and cocked her head slightly in a coquettish fashion. The model for the *Yubiwa* was not the actual winner of the contest, but Okada's paintings provided an ideal image of modern beauty for the young bourgeois woman.

The Ministry of Culture established an annual exhibition of painting and sculpture in 1907 called the *Bunten* (an abbreviation for *Monbushō Bijutsu Tenrankai*, literally, "Art Exhibition of the Ministry of Culture"). This large exhibition attracted huge audiences of varied social backgrounds. At the *Bunten*, Okada exhibited the images of women with large eyes of the same kind as the posters that have already been discussed: *Kôji Fujin* (*A Woman in Red Kimono*) (fig. 3.49), 1907 and *Goyôtsuta* (*Ivy with Five Leaves*) (fig. 3.50), 1909. Okada also painted a work with a composition similar to *Daiyamondo no On'na* (*A Woman with a Diamond*), in which a girl wore a ruby ring, which it seemed was the prize for the local winners of the beauty contest in 1907 (fig. 3.51).⁵⁴ It has been pointed out that these images of Okada had an impact on illustrations by Takehisa Yumeji, who won great popularity in the 1910s and 1920s among young women.⁵⁵

3.6 A Change in representations of "beautiful" women

Okada produced images of young women with big eyes and painted their kimonos in realistic detail. Although these expressions surely had a significant impact on contemporary artists, including Japanese-style and other oil painters, the images of beautiful women in the Japanese-style paintings have not yet been discussed in relation to Japanese oil paintings. One advertisement poster

⁵⁴ Satô, Michiko. "Okada Saburôtsuke 'Shôjo-zô' to Bijin Shashin Kontesuto", in Pola Museum of Art ed., *Kuroda Seiki, Kishida Ryûsei no Jidai: Korekushon ni miru Meiji Taishô no Gaka tachi*, 2005, pp. 66-69.

⁵⁵ Kuwahara, Noriko. "Takehisa Yumeji to Taishô-ki no Yôgaka tachi: Kôfû-kai, Fyûzan-kai, Nika-kai no Syûhen" (Takehisa Yumeji and Painters in the Taishô Period: Around Kôfû-kai, Fyûzan-kai and Nika-kai), in Department of Fine Arts, Independent Administrative Institution, National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, Tokyo ed., *Taishôki Bijutsu Tenrankai no Kenkyû* (Research on Exhibitions in Taishô Period), Tokyo: Independent Administrative Institution, National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, Tokyo, pp. 255-258.

for the Sakura Beer Company by a Japanese-style painter, Kitano Tsunetomi (1880-1947) (fig. 3.52), shows a woman with a folding screen in the Kôrin style. Okada's influence here is apparent.

Ikeda Shôen (1886-1917) won the third prize at the *Bunten* with the work titled *Utage no Hima* (*A Rest in a Party*) in 1909 (fig. 3.53) and she became a popular painter of images of beautiful women. Viewers could understand that the woman in the painting was a *yûjo* (the word used for a prostitute before the modern age) from the beginning of the Edo era by her design. Another work by Ikeda Shôen titled *Yume no Ato* (*Waking after a Dream*) (fig.3.54) showed a contemporary young woman in a *Genroku*-design kimono who coquettishly cocked her head while looking at the viewers like the women in Okada's paintings. Her husband, Ikeda Terukata, was also a Japanese-style painter, who exhibited images of "kimono beauties" in the same style as Shôen.

Uemura Shôen (1875-1949), who was the most famous female painter during her lifetime, changed her style in around 1910. She achieved the first success of her career in 1890, when her work titled *Shiki Bijin zu* (*Beauties of the Four Seasons*) was purchased by Prince Arthur, Duke of Connaught and Strathearn during his stay in Japan. Bolstered by this success, she painted several works of the same subject in similar compositions (fig.3.55). Viewers could easily judge the age of each woman by their type of kimono and their hair because they followed a convention that mandated a different kimono for women of different ages. As we have seen, Takahashi Yoshio criticised this kind of fixed custom of wearing kimono and promoted "a fashion" in kimono every year. Women in *Shiki Bijin zu* showed their talents in flower arrangement, holding the Chinese lute and ink painting. The idea that a "beautiful" woman should have talents in calligraphy, painting, literature and music was a kind of the remnant of Chinese literati culture, which filtered into the Japanese intellectuals of the Edo period.⁵⁶ To express a "beautiful" woman, a set of

⁵⁶ Kojima, Kaoru. "Chûgoku-fuku no Josei zô ni miru Kindai Nihon no Aidentiti Keisei", in *Annual Reports*

writing materials associated with Chinese literati culture were sometimes painted as props in paintings after the mid-eighteenth century (fig. 3.6)⁵⁷ We can find the iconography of women within a scholar's setting until the middle Meiji. A female literati-style painter, Noguchi Shôhin (1847-1917), who was nominated as the panel of judges at the *Buntên*, often painted Japanese beauties of that time engaged in some literati pleasures (fig. 3.56).⁵⁸

Portraits of geisha in lithographs in the 1880s often showed them within a kind of literati setting, such as circular windows or with *bonkei* (a miniature garden made in a pot). For instance, *Shimbashi Aiko* (*A Portrait of Geisha named Aiko*) represents a woman with a pot of Amur adonis in her hands. There are some plum blossoms, which were also loved by literati, which could be seen through a circular window. In *Bijin Shôni o Aisuru zu* (*A Beauty loves Her Son*) (fig.3.57), a *koto*, one of the favourite accessories of literati, is hanging on the wall in the room behind the circular window. A plum blossom in a pot is also visible. In *Tokyo Yakko* (*A Geisha called Yakko*) (fig. 3.58), a geisha is sitting at her writing desk with some writing paper in front of her. These kinds of images of women were not only produced in lithographs. In fact, Kôno Bairei, one of teachers of Uemura Shôen, painted a geisha standing outside of a room furnished in literati style in 1873 (fig. 3.59).

Takahashi Chiyoko was excellent at performing music, and her portrait by Okada Saburôsuke showed her with a *tsuzumi* as we have seen already. However, Okada's other portrayal of women showed mainly their faces and beautiful kimono. Thus, in this limited format, the viewer cannot know what kind of talents the models had from looking at the paintings. These women stared at the viewers in static poses. Now, the viewers could only judge "beauty" by a face and a fashion sense.

of Studies of the Faculty of Letters of Jissen Women's University, vol., 44, 2002, pp. 17-37.

⁵⁷ Nakamachi, Keiko. "Nihon Kinsei Bijutsu ni okeru Bunjinshumi no Kenkyû 1", *Jissen Joshi Daigaku Bigaku Bijutsushi Gaku*, no. 13, 1998, pp. 47-77.

⁵⁸ On the analysis on women artists and literati culture, see, Fister, Patricia. "Woman Artists in Traditional Japan", in Weidner, Marsha. ed., *Flowering in the Shadows: Women in the History of Chinese and Japanese Painting*, Honolulu, 1990, pp.219-240, and Fister, Patricia. *Kinsei no Josei Gaka tachi* (*Japanese Women Artists of the Kinsei Era*), Kyoto: Shibunkaku, 1994, pp. 52-87.

Uemura Shōen still showed an image of a young woman with the *koto* in her work titled *Musume Miyuki* (*A Girl named Miyuki*) in 1914 (fig. 3.60), but this time she represented the gorgeous kimono in detail, and explained that *Miyuki* was the daughter of a rich family. Shōen painted the sparkling pupils of the girl, just as Okada had in his paintings of beautiful women.

As the *Bunten* exhibitions attracted an increasing number of visitors, images of young women became more popular. The organizer of the ninth *Bunten* of 1915 installed Japanese-style *bijinga* (paintings of beautiful women) in one gallery, which journalists called “*bijinga-shitsu*” (a room for paintings of beautiful women), and the room attracted many viewers.⁵⁹ Thus as we have discussed, viewers could only appreciate “beautiful” women by looking at their faces and fashion. Images of beauty no longer required associations with special knowledge about literature or other cultural refinements. As a result, “kimono beauty” became one of the most popular subjects in modern Japanese painting.

⁵⁹ Kojima, Kaoru. “*Kindai Nihon ni okeru Kanten no Yakuwari to sono Omona Sakuhin no Bunseki*” (Government-supported Exhibitions and its Role in Modern Japanese Art History), in *Art History Forum*, vol. 13, Seoul: Centre for Art Studies, 2001, p. 9-63.

Chapter 4 Representing “Tôyô” with Images of Women

4.1 Fujishima Takeji and his experience in Europe

I have already discussed Kuroda Seiki as a central figure in the introduction to the male artists' gendered gaze on female images in Japan. As for Kuroda, the images of a “kimono beauty” invented by Wada Eisaku and Okada Saburôsuke were examined. In this chapter, I will focus on Fujishima Takeji because he was one of the three most important oil painters in Japan in the period that I deal with in this thesis.

Like Okada and Wada, Fujishima also started his career at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts when the Department of Western-style Painting opened in 1896. After Kuroda passed away at the age of 58 in 1924, these three professors worked as important figures under the government art policy. It should be noted that they were not only painters but also high government officials. Wada and Okada were appointed members of *Teikoku Bijutsuin* (the Imperial Academy of Art) in 1919, and Fujishima followed them in 1924. The three received the title of *Teishitsu Gigei-in* (the Imperial House Hold Artists) in 1934. Wada was appointed head of the Tokyo School of Fine Arts in 1932, but he had to step down from this position in 1936, taking responsibility for having caused confusion among artists over the reformation of the Exhibition of the Imperial Academy. Though he lived until 1959, he was out of the mainstream of art politics after he left the school. On the other hand, Okada and Fujishima had their own classes and taught students until the 1930s and received the Order of Cultural Merit in 1937. Okada lived until 1939 and Fujishima until 1943, which means that they were still influential in the art world when Japan invaded China. Considering their high positions in the government, they could not live as artists free from Japanese imperialism and colonialism. Therefore, analysis on Fujishima from this point of view is needed because he lived the longest among the three.

Fujishima was the son of a samurai in Kagoshima and began learning traditional-style painting from a young age. In 1884, he went to Tokyo to learn oil painting, but in those days the government had stopped promoting the reception of Western culture and *Kôbu Bijutsu Gakkô* (Kôbu Art School) was closed in 1882. Fujishima had no choice but to learn *nihon-ga*. Around 1888, the artists who had been studying in Europe returned to Japan one after another, and they organised a group called *Meiji Bijutsu Kai* (Meiji art group) in 1889. Fujishima started learning oil painting under artists of this group, and soon distinguished himself as a young oil painter in the exhibitions of *Meiji Bijutsu Kai*. He painted a large canvas titled *Sakuragari* (*Cherry-blossom viewers*) (fig. 4.1) for the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893, but he had to withdraw it in accordance with the decision made by *Meiji Bijutsu Kai*. Fujishima took his subject from *ukiyo-e*, and showed that women working in the Edo castle were allowed to go out to view cherry-blossoms. At that time, he was a student of Yamamoto Hôsui, who was deeply involved with japonisme during his stay in Paris. Yamamoto should have known very well that European viewers welcomed *ukiyo-e*-style images of Japanese women in kimonos. Though Fujishima had not been to Europe, he already understood Western people's gaze on the "exotic" images of Japanese women in kimonos.

Kuroda Seiki came back from Paris in 1893, and as a result of his efforts, Fujishima was appointed associate professor at Tokyo School of Fine Arts in 1896. Fujishima learned some ideas about European art from Kuroda, and exhibited works of female nudes, such as *Yoku-go* (*After Taking a Bath*) (fig. 2.4), at *Hakuba-kai* (White Horse Society). His caricatures published in *Myôjô* in protest of the control of the police on paintings of female nudes (fig. 2.5) demonstrate that they also understood Kuroda's ideas about Western art. He also sent *Chihan Nôryô* (*Summer Evening at Lakeside*) to the Paris Exposition Universelle of 1900 (fig. 3.19). Though it still depicts women in kimonos as a typical Japanese subject for Western eyes, it also portrays the image of

contemporary women of that age. Fujishima, at this time, showed not only Japanese “exoticism” but also tried to express modernity by showing images of contemporary girls in his oil paintings. Whereas Wada and Okada, who were back from Paris, had invented a “kimono beauty,” Fujishima had already abandoned academic representation of “kimono beauty” and exhibited *Chô* (*Butterflies*) (fig. 4.2) with its highly symbolical style at the ninth exhibition of the *Hakuba-kai* in 1904.

If we divide his life into two phases, the first phase includes his years of yearning for European art. The second phase includes his years as a prominent oil painter and an important figure in Japanese cultural policy. It is significant to note that his career during the first phase coincides with the period when the Japanese government struggled to catch up with European countries. Japan concluded a treaty with the United Kingdom in 1902, and was finally able to revise unequal treaties with other Western countries. In 1905, Japan won the Russo-Japanese war, and the Japanese public was excited that Japan had become a nation of the first grade. Fujishima was sent to Europe by the Japanese government in November 1905, just after the Meiji government had attained its goal. The second half of his career after he came back to Japan in January 1910 was the period of Japanese imperialism and the colonisation of Korea in the same year. Fujishima visited Japanese colonies several times on governmental missions.

In previous chapters, we have examined how other Japanese artists changed while they spent time in Europe, and Fujishima’s case is no exception. His time in Europe saw changes that were both physical and spiritual. Figure 4.3 shows him in a *shosei* (a young student) fashion when he was around twenty years old. This fashion mirrored that of the students of *Kôbu Bijutsu Gakkô* (fig. 2.21). Here, Fujishima appears skinny and frail, but his pose with a palette and brushes conveys his strong will to be an oil painter. The other photograph was taken during his stay in France; in this photo, he sports a moustache and a

dandy fashion (fig. 4.4). He looks comparatively dignified, strong and masculine. He recalled that “It was a remarkable turning point in my life that I had changed completely in constitution as well as in my mind.”¹ A journalist reported Fujishima’s impression when he came back from Europe as follows:

He had always been a man of good appearance, but now he looks much more dignified after having had the experiences in Europe. He has a well-formed white face and a high-bridged nose, abundant dark hair parted in two and a sharply turned-up handlebar moustache. All of these things seem to suggest to us that he is not an ordinary Japanese.²

Yashiro Yukio, a well-known art historian, wrote of his impression of Fujishima after his return from Europe as follows: “Fujishima is, so to speak, a good example of man, as he has a magnificently built body and handsome masculine face.”³ As we have already examined in chapter 2.3., Fujishima, just as other male Japanese artists, assimilated himself into Western culture in Europe which turned him into “the artistic dandy.” In Fujishima’s case, his change was not only limited to fashion, but also the physical, which surprised his acquaintances. He looked quite “masculine” and Europeanised. How, then, had he embraced European culture in his mind?

When Fujishima went to Paris, he was thirty-eight years old, and was one of the leading oil painters in Japan. He learned French when he was young and he did not have trouble with French as most Japanese artists did when they arrived

¹ Fujishima, Takeji. “*Watashi no Gakusei Jida*” (My Student Life), in *Bijutsu Shinron*, Tokyo: Bijutsu Shinronsha, vol. 3, no. 4, April 1928, p. 68. The original text in Japanese is: 「留学中に従来の体質と意志の一変したことは私の一生中の顕著な出来事でした。」

² Rikurō, “*Shin-kichō Yōgaka no Kaigō: Kōsetsu Tenrankai Hyō, Taiō Kaikodan*” (A Meeting of Oil Painters Returned from Europe: A Review of the Bunten Exhibition and a Talk on Recollection of Their Stay in Europe); in *Bijutsu Shimpō*, vol. 10, no. 1, 1 November 1910, Tokyo: Gahōsha, p. 27. The original text in Japanese is: 「元から風采の揚がつた人であつたが、欧州の空氣に浴した所為か又一段と立派になられた。白晳の面、隆い鼻、豊に分けた黒漆の髪の毛、ピンと尻の跳ね上つたカイゼル風の口髭、總てが日本的でない何者かを暗示してゐやうに思はれる。」

³ Yashiro, Yukio. “*Fujishima Takeji*” (Fujishima Takeji), in *Geijutsu Shinchō*, January 1954, Tokyo: Shinchōsha, p. 210. Original text in Japanese is: 「藤島は堂々たる体格と、男性的の美しい容貌に恵まれた、謂わば男性の標本見たいな人であつた。」

in Paris. After Japan's victory in the Russo-Japanese war, the Japanese legation was raised to the status of an embassy, and the Japanese government purchased a new building where the interior was designed by Mitsukoshi in 1906-08, as we have seen before. Fujishima did not need to be as modest with French people as Kuroda did when he arrived at a young age. He enrolled in the atelier of Fernand Cormon (1845-1924) in the Ecole des Beaux-Arts on 27 January 1906,⁴ and studied in Paris for two years. He received a letter by Cormon to Carolus-Duran, the head of the Academy de France in Rome dated 5, December 1907, and subsequently moved to Rome.⁵ He regularly showed his works to Carolus-Duran and received his comments.⁶ After staying in Rome for two years, he went back to Japan in January 1910.⁷

Though he studied under academic teachers, he must have witnessed many works of art in the new trend while he was in Paris. The Salon d'Automne, which was established in 1903, and the Salon des Indépendents both had already become centres of attention in the development of modern art. Just before he arrived in Paris at the end of 1905, Matisse and his associates displayed their works known as "Les Fauves" at the third exhibition of the Salon d'Automne. At the fourth Salon d'Automne the following year, the retrospective exhibition of Gauguin was held, and a big retrospective exhibition of Cézanne followed at the fifth Salon d'Automne in 1907. Fujishima wrote that he saw these exhibitions.⁸ Young Japanese artists, such as Saitô Yori (1885-1959), Takamura Kôtarô (1883-1956) and Arishima Ikuma (1882-1974) who were in Paris during this period, had been deeply impressed with these new movements. Their writings in magazines left an impression on Japanese artists.

⁴ Document AJ52/291 in the National Archive in Paris. The result of my research was published in Kojima, Kaoru. "Furansu Kokuritsu Bijutsu Gakkô ni Mananda Nihonjin Ryûgakusei" (Japanese Students Studied in at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in France), in *Jissen Joshi Daigaku Bigaku Bijutsushi Gaku*, no. 13, 1998, pp.99-112.

⁵ Sakai, Saisui. "Genkon no Taika 15: Fujishima Takeji shi" (Important Contemporary Painters 15: Fujishima Takeji), in *Bijutsu Shimpô*, vol.10, no. 9, July 1911, p.274.

⁶ Fujishima, Takeji. "Ashiato o Tadorite" (Trace of My Life), in *Geijutsu no Esupuri*, Tokyo: Chûôkôron Bijutsu Shuppan, 1982, p.207.

⁷ *Tokyo Geijutsu Daigaku Hyakunen-shi: Tokyuo Bijutsu Gakkô-hen* (One Hundred History of the Tokyo National University of Fine Arts & Music: Tokyo School of Fine Arts), vol.2, Tokyo: Gyôsei, 1992, p.317.

⁸ Fujishima, Takeji. "Ashiato o Tadorite," in *Geijutsu no Esupuri*, 1982, p.205-206.

As Fujishima recounts, his major works painted in France were stolen in Rome,⁹ and therefore, the extent of his reception of the fauvism and other new movements in French art was not known. Only the small oil sketches he produced while he was in Switzerland and Rome provide us with any clue to his progress (figs. 4.5 and 4.6). These show that he no longer followed a naturalistic style like Kuroda, though he did not completely abandon realistic expression in the end. There was an episode in which Giacomo Balla (1871-1958) once visited Fujishima's atelier and told Fujishima that his painting had something poetic about it.¹⁰ After Fujishima came back to Japan, he painted several works of European subjects. *Kampidorio no Atari (Around Campidoglio)* (fig. 4.7) shows cityscapes near Campidoglio in Rome in two oblong panels. He created a constructive composition using numerous fine brushstrokes. The style resembled some of the paintings by The Nabis, and the lyrical atmosphere of his expression and the format for decorative panels resemble Balla's early works before he joined the Futurist Movement with works such as *Maggio (May)* (fig. 4.8).

However, in looking over Fujishima's sketches in Italy, we cannot trace his association with contemporary Italian society. His paintings mainly show ruins of ancient Rome, with a few portraits of professional models. Though European art had its roots in the Renaissance, Paris had become the centre of modern art in the nineteenth century. Italy was a new nation, having been established in 1861, and it was still on its way to modernisation around the turn of the century. French artists such as Camille Corot (1796-1875), Ernest Hebert (1817-1908), Léon Bonnat (1833-1922) and William Bouguereau (1825-1905), painted the pastoral scenes with beautiful young Italian women in peasant clothes, often depicted with children (figs. 4.9 and fig. 4.10).¹¹ These images showed an idealised, innocent world far removed from modern culture, and reminded viewers of the

⁹ Ibid., p.207.

¹⁰ Sakai, Saisui. "Genkon no Taika 15: Fujishima Takeji shi", in *Bijutsu Shimpō*, vol.10, no. 9, July 1911, p.270.

¹¹ Brettell, Richard R.; Brettill, Caroline B., *Les Peintres et le paysan au XIXe siècle*, Geneva: Skila, 1983.

Renaissance paintings on biblical subjects, such as those by Raffaello. These images of Italian women presented Italy as “the past” in contrast to the modernised urban life in France. Carolus-Duran (1837-1917) stayed in Italy from 1862 to 1865, and he depicted rural people in the Roman countryside in a painting titled *l’Assasiné, Souvenir de la Campagne Romaine* (*The Assassinated, Memory of Countryside of Rome*) (fig. 4.11) in 1862, which was shown at the Salon and purchased by the French government.

Italian models were welcomed by academic painters and more than five hundred models of Italian origin worked in Paris around 1888.¹² Hyakutake Kaneyuki (1842-1884), who studied under Bonnat in Paris after his stay in Rome, also painted a girl dressed in Italian peasant garb (fig. 4.12). He had learned from his teacher the gaze upon an Italian woman as well as oil painting technique. Asai Chû, who travelled to Rome after his stay in Paris around 1900, made some *Haiku* poems sentimentalising ruins of the ancient Roman Empire. Japanese artists who had studied in France had acquired the French view on Italy, and they regarded Italy as a land with a glorious past.

Fujishima did not paint a large canvas during his stay in Rome. Oil sketches he brought back reveal that he chose ancient ruins and gardens of villas in the Renaissance period as his subjects. After Fujishima went back to Japan, he gave interviews with journalists and told them that the best art school in the world was the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris.¹³ He criticised the standard of the students in the national art school in Rome as being much lower than that in the Tokyo School of Fine Arts. Though he praised wall paintings by Raffaello and Michelangelo highly, with regard to contemporary Italian art, he commented, “Anyone who travelled to Italy has contempt for Italian art because of its tendency to be rough.”¹⁴ It should be noted that Fujishima studied at the

¹² Ducourau, Vincent. *Musée Bonnat: Bayonne*, Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 2004, p.52.

¹³ “*Itari-fû no Hekiga*” (Wall Paintings of Italian Style), in *Yorozu Chôhô*, 24 January 1910, Tokyo: Yorozu Chôhô Kankô-kai, p.2.

¹⁴ Fujishima, Takaеji. “*Taiô Kembun Sûsoku*” (Some Impression in Europe), in *Bijutsu Shimpô*, vol.9, no.5, March, 1910, p.12. The original Japanese text is: 「伊太利に旅するものは何人も伊太利芸術の乱雑なる歩調を見て、之を侮蔑しないものはない。」

Academy de France while he was in Italy, which means he was in the milieu of French art even when he was in Rome. After becoming assimilated in French culture for two years, he stayed in Italy just with a perspective similar to that of a French man who enjoyed views in Rome.¹⁵ Though Fujishima respected Italian art, he regarded it as having declined after the sixteenth century.¹⁶

4.2 Representation of the images of Korea by Fujishima

When he came back to Japan, the Japanese government had started an exhibition named *Bunten* in 1907. Oil painters had established a conservative style with naturalistic representation. Fujishima found some of his paintings were not naturalistic enough to be admitted to the *Bunten* exhibitions. Some of the young artists who were in Europe during the same period as Fujishima demanded that the government open a new section in *Bunten* for more avant-garde paintings. Their request was rejected and they formed a new group named *Nika* (The Secondary Section) in opposition to *Bunten* in 1914. Fujishima, persuaded by Kuroda, did not join the group, and he lived as an artist belonging to the Establishment from that time forward. He was sent to Korea by the Ministry of Education for a month in 1913. After his return, Fujishima wrote an essay for a magazine about his impressions of Korea.¹⁷ This essay explains that he found the Japanese landscape boring after he had travelled Europe. On the contrary, he really enjoyed looking around Korea. He explained his impression as follows:

While most of the Japanese landscape looks like a miniature garden, Korea, which is in fact a peninsula, seems to be continental. Korea, whose shape

¹⁵ The discussion on Fujishima's experience in France and his gaze upon Italy, see, Kojima, Kaoru. "Fujishima Takeji ni okeru 'Seiyō' to 'Tōyō'" (Fujishima Takeji's 'East' and 'West'), in Kōno Motoaki Sensei Taikan Kinen Ronbunshū Henshū linkai ed., *Bijutsushika, Oini Warau: Kōno sensei no tameno Nihon Bijutsushi Ronshū* (Art Historian, Making Merry: A Collection of Essays on Japanese Art in Honour of Professor Kōno Motoaki), Tokyo: Brücke, 2006, pp.387-406.

¹⁶ Fujishima, Takeji. "Dekadansu no Igi" (The Meaning of 'Decadence'), in *Bijutsu Shimpō* vol.10, no. 8, June, 1911, pp.7-8.

¹⁷ Fujishima, Takeji. "Chōsen Kankō Shokan" (Memory of a Journey to Chōsen), *Bijutsu Shimpō*, vol.13, no.5, 1914, pp.11-13.

juts out from the continent, immediately reminds me of Italy, and much in common in the scenery. The bright colour of the ground and the bare mountains studded with pine trees make the landscape so beautiful. Mild sunshine illuminates the bare mountains and the ground in bright colour, and they show good contrast with the clear blue sky whose colour seems to be deeper. (...) If we could compare the Japanese landscape with that of Switzerland, the landscape of Korea should be compared with that of Italy.¹⁸

Fujishima compared Korea with Italy because they are both peninsulas of large continents, and because the light and colour were very bright. Not only were there such geographical similarities, but he also found a common historical aspect between the two. He wrote that Korean art had attained its highest level during *Sangoku Jidai* (Three Kingdoms, first century B.C. to mid-seventh century A.D.) and declined gradually through the Unified Silla (668-935) period and the Koryo dynasty (918-1392).¹⁹ The passage by Fujishima translated above on his impression of Korea was published in an art magazine, *Bijutsu Shimpô* which carried the article by Sekino Tadashi titled "*Chôsen Kofun no Hekiga ni tsuite*" (On Wall Paintings in Ancient Tombs in Korea) at the same time.²⁰ Sekino reported the results of his research on ancient ruins in Korea the previous year, and wrote that he had found three ancient tombs with wall paintings from around the fifth or sixth century. Sekino was a professor of the Department of Technology in Tokyo Teikoku University (Tokyo Imperial University) who studied various fields, including the history of art and architecture, and archaeology.²¹

¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 11-12. The original text in Japanese is: 「日本内地の風景は、何處でも大抵盆景的ですが、朝鮮は、半島ながら、大陸的の處がある様です。大陸の地勢を受けて突き出た地形が、既に伊太利を連想させますが、其地の風物が又頗る伊太利に似た点が多い様です。地面の色が明快で、禿山が多くつて、ところどころに、小松が点綴せられて居るなど、一層風景を美しく見せます。それに、いつもうらかな日の光や、晴やかな空の青い色が、禿山や地面の明るい土の色と、相対照して、一層深碧に見えます。(中略) 若し日本の風景を瑞西に比べることが出来たら、朝鮮の風景は、伊太利に匹敵すべきものであらうと思ひます。」

¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 11-13.

²⁰ *Bijutsu Shimpô*, vol. 13, no. 5, 1914, pp. 8-10.

²¹ On Sekino's work and fieldwork headed by him, see, Fujii, Keisuke; Saotome, Masahiro; Tsunoda, Mayumi; Nishiaki, Yoshihiro. eds., *Sekino Tadashi Ajia Tôsa (Tadashi Sekino: Explorer of Asia)*, Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 2005.

He was sent to Korea in 1902 for the first time by the Japanese government, and he started intensive research on Korea after 1909. He continued his research commissioned by the *Chōsen Sōtokufu* (the Governor-General of Korea) from 1910 until 1934. Sekino's scientific fieldwork over the vast domain of Korea, as well as in Japan, profited much from progress in the study of Japanese history on art and culture, but it was carried out under Japanese colonial policy. Kan Sanken pointed out that his research aim in Korea was to find traces of the roots of Japanese culture, and it was not to establish Korean history. He argued that Sekino was only interested in the ancient culture in Korea and neglected the Choson (Joseon) Dynasty because Korea had built their own cultural identity.²² Fujishima's views on Korean history, for example that only the ancient period was worthy to of esteem, coincided with that of Sekino. Fujishima's essay on Korea was printed along with three of his sketches of Korean landscapes. Three oil paintings that seemed to have been made from these sketches are still extant. These paintings show "the bright colour of the ground" and the "good contrast with clear blue sky" as Fujishima had written. One of the paintings shows two Korean women walking in the countryside in the traditional style of clothing of the late Choson Dynasty (1392-1910) (fig. 4.13). Fujishima found "exotic" beauty in female fashion in Korea as well as the landscape and wrote:

Furthermore, the clothes of Korean people are interesting. While men are usually dressed in white, female dresses are made with combinations of simple colour, such as red blouse with white skirt, or that of green, purple and yellow. If we view them from a distance, they look like colour spots--very lovely. Korea, in all aspects, has not changed or progressed much, and the clothes still seem to be reminiscent of ancient ages. I was deeply impressed with the beauty of green cloth that women used to cover their

²² "Sekino Tadashi to Kankoku Kenchiku-shi" (Sekino Tadashi and History of Korean Architecture), in Fujii, Keisuke; Saotome, Masahiro; Tsunoda, Mayumi; Nishiaki, Yoshihiro. eds., *Sekino Tadashi Ajia Tōsa*, 2005, pp. 187-188.

heads and of the pale-coloured skirts that flutter in the wind. I feel like I am watching a hand-scroll of around the twelfth century in Japan displayed before me.²³

He compared the scenery in Korea with women and with the Japanese twelfth century. Though the female dress in Korea seemed to have common elements in design with Japanese clothing of the ancient ages, it is not difficult to point out the connection between Fujishima's gaze on Korean women and colonialism. Fujishima mentioned Delacroix and Orientalism in French art caused by the French Occupation of Algeria, and wrote that Japanese artists would also benefit from the colonization of Korea.²⁴ As he was an eminent professor of the Tokyo School of Fine Arts, his opinion may have affected Japanese colonial policy. As he mentioned Orientalist paintings by French artists, he regarded Korea just as Algeria had been regarded as the "exotic other" by the French.²⁵ Kuraya Mika has argued that Fujishima's impression was not unusual among Japanese who travelled to Korea under the Japanese occupation. She pointed out that their inclination to compare Korea to ancient Japan was a reflection of Japanese imperialism.²⁶ Although Kim Jungsun agrees with these points, she also pointed out that Fujishima developed new images of women after his experience.²⁷ She also argued that Fujishima understood the theory of synthesis by Gauguin, because Fujishima had written that he had seen female figures as colour

²³ Fujishima, Takeji. "Chōsen Kankō Shokan," *Bijutsu Shimpō*, vol.13, no.5, 1914, p.11. The original text in Japanese is: 「それに、朝鮮人の服装が又面白い様です、男の着物は大概白の様ですが、婦人は皆単純な色を用ひて居て、上衣が赤で、裳の色が白とか、其外、緑、紫黄色と云つた様に、大きな色の塊まりに見える所が、甚だよい様です。朝鮮は、総ての点に於て、古来著しい変化や進歩がなかつた為に、その服装には、今も尚ほ、古代の面影が残つて居る様に思はれます。婦人のかついで居る緑色の被衣や、薄色の裳の、風に翻へる様が、何とも云へぬ美しい趣があります。恰も日本の王朝時代の絵巻物を眼の前に見る様な気持ちになります。」

²⁴ Ibid, pp. 12-13.

²⁵ Kojima, Kaoru. "Fujishima no Egaita Josei-zō" (Images of Woman by Fujishima), in Kojima, Kaoru ed., *Fujishima Takeji*, Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1998.

²⁶ Kuraya, Mika. "Künstler auf Koreareise: Das Fremde in Japanischen Blick, 1895 und 1945" (Artists' Journey to Korea: Strangers in Japanese eyes, from 1895 to 1945), in *Comparativ*, no.3, 1998, Leipzig: *Comparativ*, pp. 82-97.

²⁷ Kim, Jungsun. "Fujishima Takeji no Chōsen Hyōsho: Sōshoku-ga no Kanten kara" (The Representation of Joseon by Fujishima Takeji: With a Focus on His Decorative Paintings, in *Bijutsushi*, October 2005, Sendai: The Japan Art History Society, pp.160-174.

spots,²⁸ and he developed images of women to symbolise more general ideas that are not limited by nation and time.²⁹

After returning from Korea, Fujishima worked on several paintings with images of Korean women. One of them is now titled *Hanakago* (Flower Basket, 1913, fig.4.14). It shows a woman wearing a white *chōgori* (short jacket) and a red *chi'ma* (skirt) that was a typical costume for a woman in the Choson Dynasty. Fujishima painted this work with bold brushstrokes using complementary colours. The woman holding a flower basket with her hands on her head has a frontal perspective and she looks as monumental as a caryatid. Kim Jungsun admits that the Korean women carrying water jars or laundry on the head were one of a group of typical subjects used to show life in Korea in paintings and photographs, but she argued that *Hanakago* did not follow the iconography of "female labourers in traditional costume." She pointed out that Fujishima had aimed to express a symbolic figure such as a woman in *Autumn* by Puvis de Chavanne (fig. 4.15).³⁰ I would like to suggest a more concrete source of *Hanakago*, which was the work by Carolus-Duran.³¹ Fujishima wrote an article on Carolus-Duran in a magazine titled *Bijutsu* in May 1917.³² On the frontispiece of the issue, there was a colour plate of the painting by Carolus-Duran titled *Bara no Hanauri* (*Rose Vendor*, fig. 4.16). It shows an Italian woman holding a bag of flowers on her head. Carolus-Duran must have shown a woman from Chiociaria, in the Roman countryside. Women from Chiociaria earned their living by selling flowers in Rome and by working as models for painters. Fujishima also made a study of a model from Chiociaria (fig. 4.17). However, a woman in *Bara no Hanauri* is not shown in the local clothes of Chiociaria. She is wearing a white blouse and a red skirt with a sash. The basket is full of red and white roses. The colour of the

²⁸ Kim, Jungsun. *Fujishima Takeji saku Hanakago Kō* (A Study of *Hanakago* by Fujishima Takeji), in The Kyushu Art Society ed., *De arte*, Fukuoka: Nishinihon Bunka Kyōkai, no.22, April 2006, p.63-64.

²⁹ Kim, Jungsun. "Fujishima Takeji no Chōsen Hyōsho: Sōshoku-ga no Kanten kara", in *Bijutsushi*, October 2005, pp.160-174.

³⁰ Kim, Jungsun. "Fujishima Takeji saku Hanakago Kō," in *De arte*, no.22, April, 2006, pp. 55-72.

³¹ Kojima, Kaoru. "Fujishima Takeji ni okeru 'Seiyō' to 'Tōyō,'" in Kōno Motoaki Sensei Taikan Kinen Ronbunshū Henshū linkai ed., *Bijutsushika, Oini Warau: Kōno sensei no tameno Nihon Bijutsushi Ronshū*, 2006, pp.387-406.

³² *Bijutsu*, vol. 1, no. 7. May, 1917, Tokyo: Shichimensha.

flowers and clothes are quite similar to *Hanakago*. As has been discussed, Fujishima, who had assimilated with French artists, also shared their views on Italy. For Fujishima, the relationship of Korea and Japan was equivalent to that of Italy and France. Just as he regarded art in Italy as once splendid but now in decline, he thought Korean art had been glorious in the ancient period but had similarly fallen off. Fujishima noted this analogy between Italy and Korea, and painted an image of Korea that corresponded to the image of Italy by his French teacher. Having painted *Hanakago*, Fujishima gained a similar space to Carolus-Duran. Having a Westernised and masculine outward appearance, Fujishima had changed in his mind as well.

However, there was a difference between the paintings by Fujishima and the one by Carolus-Duran. Whereas the Italian woman in the painting by Carolus-Duran twisted her body and posed attractively for the viewers, the woman in Fujishima's painting was depicted from the front and she seemed to look down on the viewers as though she was a caryatid. As Kim has pointed out, the woman in *Hanakago* was not much eroticised under the gaze of the rulers.³³ Thus, we need to explore further what Fujishima really wanted to express in his images of women in traditional costume.

Fujishima had been working on a plan to make a triptych titled *Kara-yô Sanbu-saku* (*A Triptych in Chinese Style*, fig. 4.18). It was never completed, but oil studies for it enable us to imagine what he wanted to express. Studies for the three panels of the triptych seem to have been framed together while he was alive, and they were exhibited for the first time at his posthumous exhibition in 1943 (fig. 4.19). However, the catalogue for this exhibition gave the title of this work as simply *Sanbu-saku* (*Trilogy*),³⁴ and the title by which the work is now known was given subsequently by Kumamoto Kenjirô in 1967.³⁵ The reason the word *Kara-yô* was added to the title is still unknown. The word *kara* had been

³³ Kim, Jungsun. "Fujishima Takeji saku *Hanakago Kô*," in *De arte*, no.22, April, 2006, pp. 55-72.

³⁴ Iwasa, Arata. ed., *Fujishima Takeji Isaku Tenrankai* (*The Posthumous Exhibition of Fujishima Takeji*). Tokyo: Fujishima Takeji Isaku Tenrankai Jimusho, 1943.

³⁵ Kumamoto, Kenjirô. ed., *Fujishima Takeji*, Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Shimbunsha, 1967.

used in Japan from the middle ages to refer to Chinese culture in general. The three panels now show two women standing in the left panel, one woman standing in the right panel and a woman on a horse in the centre panel. The tall hairstyles of these women are reminiscent of those of *Yô* (young, a ceramic figurine) of the Tang dynasty (618-907) discovered in Turfan (fig. 4.20). The landscape which includes a blue sky and an expanse in bright colours was not completed; however, enough has been rendered to have its colour remind us of Korea. Further support that Fujishima was trying to add images of Korea can be found in that he made two paintings of a Korean woman on the reverse of both side panels (fig. 4.21). They were discovered when the frame was taken off to restore the painting. The fact that they were concealed in the frame may have meant that Fujishima had abandoned the plan. However, these paintings resembled another work by Fujishima titled *Tamatebako* (*A Treasured Box*) on which Fujishima worked in 1914, but the catalogue of his posthumous exhibition printed this work's date as around 1918. Thus, we can surmise that the plan for the triptych had been made around the second half of 1910s.³⁶ As this work was never completed, Fujishima's intentions for this project are not clear. Analysis on another work titled *Tôyô-buri* (*Eastern Style*) can, however, provide some clues to understanding what his aims might have been.

4.3 Profiles of women in Chinese dress by Fujishima

In 1911, China's Republican Revolution occurred and the elites of the Qing court fled from China to Japan with their possessions. This caused a recurrence

³⁶ Kaizuka, Tsuyoshi; Nakata, Hiroko; Ueno, Kenzô. eds., *Fujishima Takeji*, Tokyo: Bridgestone Museum of Art, Ishibashi Foundation, Kurume: Ishibashi Museum of Art, Ishibashi Foundation and Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Shimbun, 2002, p.87.

⁴⁰ Clark, Timothy. "Japanese Paintings of Chinese Beauties in the Late Edo Period", in Murase, Mieko; Smith, Judith G., eds, *The Arts of Japan: An International Symposium*, New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000, pp.220-251.

of the vogue of Chinese culture in Japan. At the Ninth *Bunten* in 1915, Fujishima exhibited a painting titled *Nioi* (*Perfume*) (fig.4.22), which depicted a woman in Manchurian court dress sitting beside flowers and a small snuff bottle. As the title *Nioi* indicates, both flowers and snuff have a strong perfume. The woman in the painting is gazing at the viewers with an air of mystery as though she is luring men. This is an early example of an image of a woman in Chinese dress painted by Japanese painters, though such images became quite popular in *Teikoku Bijutsu-in Tenrankai* (The Exhibition of the Imperial Academy), the new form of the *Bunten* after 1919 (the name was abbreviated as *Teiten*).

Images of women in Chinese dress had been depicted in Japanese paintings for centuries, but there was a remarkable vogue of this sort of image developed by the Ōkyo School after the mid-eighteenth century (fig. 4. 23).⁴⁰ This type of Chinese woman often wore a phoenix hair ornament and dressed in Han Chinese-style dresses. Whereas such images survived until the modern age (fig.4. 24), the new image of a Chinese woman by Fujishima was wearing a Manchurian court dress.⁴¹

In 1924, Fujishima painted a profile of a Japanese woman in Chinese dress titled *Tôyô-buri* (*In a Manner of Tôyô*, fig. 4.25). The dress seems to have a pattern of peonies, which had symbolised wealth and honour in both China and Japan. The dress may be a court dress with the wide sleeves popular in the late Qing dynasty. There was also a hair ornament that was made with precious stones in the Qing dynasty. Her face and neck were carefully painted in three dimensions, and the lustre in the hair and the surface of the dress is reproduced in a realistic manner. Fujishima recalled that this work was a landmark in his career.⁴² He described *Tôyô-buri* as follows:

In the Italian Renaissance, artists painted numerous profiles of women. I

⁴¹ This issue is discussed in detail in Kojima, Kaoru. "Chûgoku-fuku no Josei zô ni miru Kindai Nihon no Aidentiti Keisei" (The images of woman in Chinese dress and formation of Japanese national identity), in *Annual Reports of Studies of the Faculty of Letters of Jissen Women's University*, vol., 44, 2002, pp. 17-37.

⁴² Fujishima, Takeji. "Ashiato o Tadorite," in *Geijutsu no Esupuri*, 1982, p.218.

kept staring at the paintings by Piero della Francesca and Leonardo da Vinci hung on the wall in the gallery of the art museum in Milan, never bored, because I felt that these paintings caused me the same kind of feeling as *Tôyô teki seishin* (*Spirit of the East*). I was especially interested in the brush work by Piero della Francesca which was quite simplified. Based on such research, I really wanted to use a Chinese dress in my painting, and collected as many as fifty or sixty Chinese dresses at that time. (...) This was not because I intended to paint a Chinese. I wanted to create a typical *tôyô* beauty with a Japanese woman as a model. (...) My aim is to paint something unaffected by Western feeling using exclusively Western materials. I am not interested in reconstructing the customs and paraphernalia realistically in accordance with history. We do not need such exacting research in modern art. I have been insisting for years on the elimination of the notion of “the East” and “the West”.⁴³

He only mentioned the names of Piero della Francesca and Leonardo da Vinci in Milan, but he had been interested in other paintings of profiles of women such as *Portrait of Ginevera d'Este by Pisanerllo* in the Louvre, whose copy he had made and brought back to Japan (fig. 4.26). It is clear that he did not intend to reproduce a portrait of a real woman, but he wanted to express *tôyô seishin* (spirit of the East) by using an image of a woman. This image should not simply follow the idea of *tôyô*, which had been contrasted with *seiyô*. What Fujishima aimed to create here was an iconography that would unite the East and the West, or more precisely, the iconography of the East that unified the West. Later in

⁴³ Ibid., pp.218-219. The original text in Japanese is: 「イタリアの文芸復興時代には女の横顔の描写が多かった。ピエロ・デルラ・フランチェスカ、レオナルド・ダ・ヴィンチなどの絵を見た感じが、如何にも閑寂な東洋の精神に交通しているので、ミラノの美術館の壁面に見飽かぬ凝視を続けていたものであった。殊にフランチェスカの横顔の簡約された用筆が、面白く思っ見てきた。そんな取材に適合するものはやはり支那服がよく、その頃頻りと支那婦人服を蒐めて五、六十枚にも及んでいた。(中略) 必ずしも支那人をかこうという動機からではない。日本の女を使って東洋的な典型的美をつくって見たかったのである。(中略) 西洋画の材料を駆使して、西洋臭味を離れたものを描こうとしている。時代の風俗や調具などには一向無関心である。近代絵画にはそうした考証は必要としていない。同時に東洋とか西洋とかいう観念を撤回するのが私の年来の主張である。」

1939, Fujishima wrote,

Just as paintings of *tôyô* have their tradition, oil paintings have their own traditional spirit. It is the Latin spirit that originated from Italy and developed in France. We should understand this tradition when we paint oil paintings. We cannot paint oil paintings only with the Japanese spirit.⁴⁴

These words provide a clue to understanding why Fujishima found the spirit of the East in Renaissance paintings. We have already learned that Fujishima regarded France as a model of modernity, whereas Italy was seen as a place of great history. He found that French art was derived from Italian art and had inherited “the Latin spirit.” Just as French art had its origin in Italy, Japanese art had its origin in Korea and China. When Fujishima conceived that the Latin spirit corresponded to the *tôyô seishin* (the spirit of the East), he placed Japan in the same position as France. In this way, as we have seen before, Korea could be regarded as the equivalent of Italy, and we can suppose that he extended this idea of Korea to China as well.

Fujishima, under the title of *Tôyô-buri*, united the idea of China and Italy in one particular work. It was painted in oil, which was the technique associated with the Italian Renaissance, and his composition of a woman’s profile was also associated with the Italian Renaissance. The Japanese who wore the Chinese dress may have symbolised that Japan had inherited cultural tradition from China, and the female image was to represent modern Japan that embodied both cultural legacy of the East and the West. As images of women in Han Chinese dresses in pre-modern Japanese paintings had reflected the long Japanese admiration for Chinese culture, Fujishima used Manchurian dress in

⁴⁴ Fujishima, Takeji. “*Gashitsu no Kotoba*” (Words from an Atelier), in *Geijutsu no Esupuri*, 1982, pp. 66-67. The original text in Japanese is: 「東洋画には東洋画の伝統があるように、油絵にはまた油絵の伝統的精神が厳存する。イタリアに始まりフランスが継承したラテン精神がそれである。油絵を描くにはやはりその伝統を見ることが大切である。日本精神だけでいくら油絵を描こうとしても、それは無理である。」

his paintings to express the new ideology of *tôyô* that Japan formed in the modern age, as I have already mentioned. The title *Tôyô-buri* has been translated into English in various ways, but in most cases, the word *orientalism* has been used, though it is now abundantly clear that this translation is not appropriate. It has been used since the 1970s, without accounting for the definition popularised by Edward Said. Even if this title is used in reference to Said, colonialism in Fujishima's ideas could not be defined as simply "orientalism." Literally, *Tôyô-buri* could be translated to "Eastern Style." To make the meaning more clear, we should add some further explanation, such as "Painting of Eastern Style." When we have understood Fujishima's idea on this painting as such, we will be able to analyse *Kara-yô Sanbu-saku* as well. Though words are different, "*Kara-yô*" and "*Tôyô-buri*" had similar meaning. However, compared to "*kara*," "*tôyô*" had a more precise meaning for placing Japan at the centre of the East Asia, so the title *Karayô Sanbusaku* might not have been given by Fujishima. Whereas Fujishima succeeded in expressing his ideas clearly in *Tôyô-buri*, he could not complete *Kara-yô Sanbu-saku*. This means that he tried to formulate such a concept after he came back from Korea and accomplished it in 1924. If we go back to *Hanakago* in 1913, we will be aware that he had already tried to unite the idea of the East and the West in this painting. This is why the woman in *Hanakago* is not simply depicted as an attractive woman as was the one in the painting by Carolus-Duran.

Was it Fujishima's intention to unite the East and the West in his paintings only based on his experiences in Europe and Korea, then? Did this idea reflect some kind of spirit of the age when Japan had expanded its territory in East Asia? Satô Dôshin has pointed out that books on *Tôyô Bijutsushi* (the history of Eastern art) from Japan's point of view were published during early twentieth century, and the publicity attained its peak in 1920s and 1930s.⁴⁵ As Satô has

⁴⁵ Satô, Dôshin. "*Sekai-kan no Saihen to Rekishi-kan no Saihen*" (Reorganising World Views, Reorganising Historical Views), in *Ima Nihon no Bijutushigaku wo Furikaeru* (*The Present, and the Discipline of Art History in Japan*), Tokyo: Tokyo National Research Institute of Cultural Properties, 1999, pp.111-127

argued, this was linked with *Kôkoku Shikan* (The Japanese imperial historical view), which included nationalism and imperialism. Although there is no question that Japanese art had in fact originated in Chinese and Korean art, Japan reformulated the art history of East Asia into the context of *Tôyô Bijutushi*, thereby placing Japan in the centre.

At this point, it will be helpful to return to *Kara-yô Sanbu-saku*. In the centre panel of this work, Fujishima planned to paint a woman on a horse. I have compared this to a *Yô* of the Tang dynasty. The example that I chose as figure 4.19 was formerly owned by a monk, Ôtani Kôzui (1876-1948), who was the twenty-second abbot of the West Honganji Monastery of *Jôdo shinshû* (a denomination of Buddhism founded by Shinran).⁴⁶ With a considerable budget at his disposal, he organised three expeditions to India and Central Asia between 1902 and 1914. Since the end of the nineteenth century, expeditions organised by European scholars competed in exploring Central Asia, which reflected those nations' imperialist expansions. Following the Swedish explorer Sven Anders Hedin, Sir Marc Aurel Stein from England headed three expeditions to Central Asia between 1900 and 1916, and travelled to Taklamakan, Tibet. Paul Periot from France explored Tumchuq, Kucha and Dunhuang from 1906 to 1908. The Ôtani expeditions, which had the aim of researching the history of Buddhism, were not supported by the Japanese government. However, they were inspired by the other explorers from Europe. The Ôtani expeditions brought back innumerable historical materials, which were shown in West Honganji in 1903 and at the National Museum in Kyoto in 1904. They were published in many magazines and were researched by scholars in Kyoto. They were sent to the magnificent villa of Ôtani named *Niraku-sô* built in 1908, and exhibited to the public in 1912, 1913 and 1914. However, Ôtani lost support from West Honganji in 1914, and he sold most of his collection as well as *Niraku-sô*. Some of his collection was sold to the Governor-General Terauchi Masatake in Seoul, and

⁴⁶ On Ôtani Kôzui and his expeditions, see, Wada, Hidetoshi, ed., *Nirakusô to Ôtani Tankentai (Villa Niraku and Otani Expeditions)*, Ashiya: Ashiya City Museum of Art & History, 1999.

housed in *Chôsen Sôtokuhu Hakubutsukan* (The Museum of Governor-General in Korea). They were shown to the public in 1916, and they are now in the collection of the National Museum of Korea. Another part of his collection was brought to Lu-shun in 1914 where Ôtani had his second house. They were deposited to *Kantôchô Hakubutsukan* (Museum of the Guangdong Governor-General) established in 1918 in Lu-shun, and now in the collection of the Museum of Lu-shun.

It is uncertain whether Fujishima ever saw the Ôtani collection, but he must have known about these expeditions and their collection that resulted from it, as it was reported extensively in journals and magazines. Fujishima's intent to express a comprehensive image of *tôyô* might have been partly inspired by the expeditions. China was a part of Central Asia after all. The fact that Fujishima himself owned a *Yô* of a horse (fig. 4. 27),⁴⁷ testifies to his interest in archaeological pieces from China.

Fujishima made another study that seemed to be related to the triptych titled *Kiba Fujin zô* (*A Woman on Horseback*, fig. 4. 28). It shows a woman in red riding on a white horse in the mountains. Clothes of female and male figures showed the style of the Tang Dynasty. Fujishima intended to paint a scene of falconry played by equestrian in the Tang dynasty in this painting. The white horse's left side was depicted with its head down, and in a pose that suggests trotting. A dog is running in front of the horse and looking back at it. This kind of composition is also seen in a page of May in the *Très Riches Heures du duc de Berry* (*The Very Beautiful Book of Hours for the Duke of Berry*) by the Limbourg brothers in the Musée Condé in Chantilly from fifteenth-century France. The page of May (fol.5v., fig. 4. 29) shows a woman on a white horse, whose shape resembles the white horse in Fujishima's painting. Unless this similarity is mere coincidence, Fujishima was clearly trying to unite European art and Asian subject in this painting, as well as *Tôyô-buri*.

⁴⁷An illustration in *Bijutsu*, vol.1, no. 7, May 1917, Tokyo: Shichimensha, p.4.

Kiba Fujin zô must be a study for a much larger panel because it was made on a carton and painted in rough brushstrokes. Instead of completing *Kiba Fujin zô* and *Kara-yô Sanbu-saku*, Fujishima seemed to have changed his mind. *Tôyô-buri* has been regarded one of Fujishima's masterpiece, but another painting that he exhibited at the same exhibition, the fifth *Teiten*, titled *Amazônu* (*Amazon*) has not been analysed until recently (fig. 4. 30). It shows a girl in swimwear riding a horse on the seashore with a dog to the left of the horse. The composition of a woman riding on a horse with a dog is very similar, though other elements are totally different. Nakata Hiroko suggested that the concept of *Amazônu* had been made from *Kiba Fujin zô*. She pointed out that *Amazônu* showed a mixture of something antique and modern, and also the mixture of *tôyô* and *seiyô*.⁴⁸ Fujishima made his own commentary on this picture as well:

Amazônu is a painting of a girl riding on horseback in a beach. I have never witnessed such a scene. In fact, however modern women have become, it is unlikely that a woman would come to the beach riding on a horse. As I have mentioned repeatedly, I believe that the composition of a painting could be as surreal as it likes. If I could have attained to express something, it could be sportsmanship or the beauty of good health.⁴⁹

Though Japanese women did not ride horses on the seashore, French women did. Carolus-Duran painted a very large canvas depicting his sister-in-law riding a horse at the seashore in 1873 (fig. 4. 31). Fujishima wrote on this painting titled *Au bord de la mer ou Portrait équestre de Mlle Sophie Croizette* (*At the Seashore, or a Portrait of Miss Sophie Croizette on Horseback*) in his essay dedicated to Carolus-Duran upon the occasion of his death. He wrote that this

⁴⁸Kaizuka, Tsuyoshi; Nakata, Hiroko; Ueno, Kenzo, ed., *Fujishima Takeji*, 2002, p.90.

⁴⁹ Fujishima, Takeji. "Ashiato o Tadorite", in *Geijutsu no Esupuri*, 1982, p.219. The original text in Japanese is: 『アマゾヌ』は海水浴場で少女が馬に乗って散歩している図である。それは現実的な事実として、そんな光景をみた訳でもなく、実際如何にモダンな女でも騎馬で海水浴場に来る女も現今だってあり得まい。度々いうように私は画面構成は如何に超現実的であってもいいと思っている。あの中にもし表現し得たものがあるとすれば、スポーツ精神とか、健康美とかいうものであろう。』

painting had a good reputation in the upper-class society in Paris.⁵⁰ Fujishima may have had an opportunity to see this painting because it had been on the wall in Carolus-Duran's atelier.⁵¹ Sophie was a star in the fashionable world in Paris at that time, and the painting showed her in quite up-to-date fashion. The painting showed her in the centre of a huge canvas in a regular square. The portrait was completed in academic style, but the expression of the seascape was rendered in bold touches. About a half century later, Fujishima represented in *Amazônu* a woman in a much more modern fashion and manner. He painted the surface of the sea in two different colours divided by the figure of a woman on a horse.

If Fujishima really painted this picture based on his teacher's work, we will be able to understand that Fujishima had intended to express a modern image by means of a woman on a horseback, instead of expressing the Asian past. In this way, we can find his true aim to make this painting as a contrast to *Tôyô-buri* because the two paintings were exhibited at the same time in the fifth *Teiten* in 1924. Whereas *Tôyô-buri* is not very large in size and is painted in very realistic manner, *Amazônu* is painted on a large canvas in more expressionistic style than *Tôyô-buri*. The two paintings were made to show the two aspects of Fujishima's ideology about the world. While *Amazônu* signified modern Japan as the equivalent of modern France, *Tôyô-buri* must be understood to express the Japanese "origin" in East Asia united with the "origin" of modern art in Europe.

Carolus-Duran has been well known for his portraits of women of upper-class society, but he painted landscapes, too (fig. 4.32). These paintings were rendered with very strong wide brushstrokes using viscous oil. Fujishima painted landscape pictures with the same kind of brushstrokes in his later period (fig. 4.33). We should say that Fujishima learned quite well the art of his teacher while he was in Europe.

⁵⁰ Fujishima, Takeji. "Futsukoku Geien no Ichi Myôjô tarishi Karoryusu Dyuran-shi" (Mr. Carolus-Duran: A Star in French Art World), in *Bijutsu*, vol.1, no. 7, May 1917, p. 8.

⁵¹ Palais des Beaux-Arts, Lille; Musée des Augustins, Toulouse eds., *Calous-Duran 1837-1917*, Paris: Réunion des Musée Nationaux, 2003, p.120.

After *Tôyô-buri*, Fujishima worked on several profiles of women in Chinese dress. Among them, *Hôkei* (*Woman with an Orchid*, 1926, fig. 4.34) is the most well known picture, though it has not been exhibited for decades. This work premiered at the first *Shôtoku Taishi Hôsan Bijutsu Tenrankai* (*Shôtoku Taishi Commemorative Exhibition*), which was held as the inauguration of the Metropolitan Art Museum in Tokyo. Although *Tôyô-buri* has a strong Chinese mood overall, with a fan and Chinese calligraphy on a board behind the woman, the composition of *Hôkei* easily reminds us of the Renaissance paintings. The woman in *Hôkei* wears a Chinese dress, as does the one in *Tôyô-buri*, but she has an orchid instead of Chinese fan, and her profile is against the blue sky. These composition resembles the portraits by Italian Renaissance painters such as Piero della Francesca, in which a profile was presented from a close perspective against a landscape and a sweeping sky. Detailed representation carefully rendered by minute brushstrokes in the face, dress and ornaments in *Hôkei* also bears similarity to Renaissance painting. Fujishima's woman holding an orchid has the kind of expression that was also seen in portraits of the fifteenth century and the sixteenth century in Europe, though more often in the northern countries than in Italy. In these paintings, the subjects typically have something small in their hands to indicate their attribution. In Fujishima's work, the intended attribution orchid is not clear. However, an orchid, which was traditionally loved by Chinese scholars, seems to emphasise the woman's noble beauty. Luxurious embroidery in her dress shows patterns of bats, which symbolise good fortune, as well as flowers, which indicate happiness. Despite some differences in detail, the whole composition of *Hôkei* resembles *A Portrait of a Young Lady* by Antonio del Polaiuolo in Berlin (fig. 4.35) in its colour of dress and the shape of the adorned hair. As Polaiuolo worked on several portraits of women in profile, there is a possibility that Fujishima saw one of them, possibly even in Berlin when he visited Germany during his stay in Europe. As *Hôkei* had followed the Renaissance paintings in composition and in expression more

faithfully than *Tôyô-buri*, it could express better the artist's idea of uniting the tradition of the East and the West.

4.4 Admiration and desire reflected in the images of women in Chinese dress

Fujishima sent another profile of a woman in Chinese dress to the eighth *Teiten* in 1927. This work's title was *Kôsenbi* (*Woman with Chinese-style Hair*, fig. 4.36). These images of women in Chinese dress after *Nioi* in 1915 must have had impacts on other artists. His colleagues at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts also exhibited oil paintings of women in Chinese dresses at *Teiten*. Some examples of these are *Meishô* (*Toilette*, 1920) by Ihara Usaburô, *Ginpei no Mae* (*Woman Sitting Before a Silver Screen*, 1925, fig. 4.37) and *Hana Kanzashi* (*Woman Wearing Hair Ornaments*, 1927, fig. 4.38) by Kobayashi Mango. However, painters had different ideas in expressing these images of women in Chinese dress. In *Hana Kanzashi*, Kobayashi showed a Japanese woman playing with an ornament that had been worn by a court lady in the Qing dynasty. The artist even added a yellow cloth with dragon patterns on the wall behind the woman. As the yellow colour and the dragon pattern were allowed only to the emperor, the cloth suggested that the emperor's garb had been used as a wall decoration in Japan. The whole composition expresses the decay of China and the supremacy of Japan. Whereas Fujishima used Chinese dress to cite a historical connection between China and Japan, Kobayashi uses Chinese clothing as "otherness" here to suggest "exoticism."

Those artists who did not want to participate in the *Teiten* exhibitions, also produced paintings of women in Chinese dress. In contrast to Fujishima, Ryûsei was an independent artist who sold his works only to a handful of collectors. Ryûsei's painting titled *Shinafuku Kitaru Imouto Teruko no zô* (*A Portrait of Painter's Sister, Teruko in Chinese Dress*) in 1921 (fig. 4.39) is another early example of a painting of a woman in Chinese dress. This is a portrait of Ryûsei's

younger sister Teruko in a Manchurian dress. Her face and clothes stand out clearly against the dark background. He used a transparent dark red colour on the dress to deliberately render the shiny surface of the silk deliberately. As Ryûsei's daughter later wrote, it was not a sexualised image of a woman at all but a portrait of the painter's dear sister. It seemed to reflect Ryûsei's pure admiration for Chinese dress and his love for his sister.⁵² His father, Kishida Ginkô was a journalist who had a deep knowledge of Chinese culture, and associated himself with intellectuals at the end of the Qing dynasty. On the other hand, Kishida Ginkô had established his fortune by patenting an eyewash from an American missionary. He built a large house and a shop in the centre of Tokyo, and his children were brought up in a modern manner. Ryûsei, who started his career as an oil painter, learned Western art from photographs and admired Renoir and Van Gogh before turning to Van Eyck and Dürer. As mentioned before, after China's Republican Revolution in 1911, many former elites of the Qing Dynasty sold their property in Japan, which accounts for the enrichment of Japanese collections of Chinese paintings and books. Ryûsei developed his interest in Chinese paintings in the 1920s, stimulated by the members of *Shirakaba* (*White Birch*) magazine, which was published by a group of artists, writers and intellectuals. Seeing some members' collections of Chinese paintings as well as meeting an English artist, Bernard Leech (1887-1979) who had been to China, Ryûsei himself started to collect Chinese paintings. He believed that he bought works of the Sung and the Yuan Dynasties, though most of them must have really been made in the Ming and the Qing Dynasties.⁵³ He studied Chinese-style paintings by copying these paintings and albums of woodblock prints published in China (fig. 4.40). His naïve admiration

⁵² Kishida, Reiko. *Chichi, Ryûsei (My Father, Kishida Ryûsei)*, Tokyo: Chûôkôron Bijutsu Shuppan, 1987, pp.133-134.

⁵³ The biography of Kishida Ryûsei has been well investigated based on his diaries, and as for a standard writing of his biography, see, Tomiyama, Hideo. *Kishida Ryûsei*, Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1986. Writings by Kishida including his diaries are published in, Oka, Isaburô; Umehara, Ryûsaburô. eds., *Kishida Ryûsei Zenshû (The Complete Writings by Kishida Ryûsei)*, vol.1-10, Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1979-1980. My description on Kishida here is based on a paper at a workshop of the Eastern Section of Japan Art History Society, 28 July 2001: Kojima, Kaoru. *Kindai ni okeru Bunjin Shumi no Henyô to Shûen (Change and Decline of Literati Culture in Modern Japan)*.

of China seems to be seen in a portrait of him wearing Chinese clothes (fig. 4.41).

His devotion to Chinese paintings seems to have accorded with his memory of his father who died when he was a child. He made a portrait of his father as a literatus in 1925 (fig. 4.42), while he portrayed himself in a Chinese-style study room in a new house in Kamakura (fig. 4.43). A Chinese-style work titled *Shunjitsu Reijitsu (A Calm and Fine Day in Spring*, fig. 4.44) shows his happy memories of the days when he lived in Kugenuma in Kanagawa from 1917 to 1923. Though it was drawn in Chinese style, it shows Mt. Fuji. Among the small figures of the literati enjoying fishing, we can see a man with a hat walking with a small child in a red kimono. This must be a self portrait with his beloved daughter, Reiko. Ryûsei digested Chinese literati culture in his own way and made it his identity. However, he needed to confront the real China in his time. He went to Manchuria in 1929 in hopes of being able to sell his paintings to Japanese officials of the South Manchurian Railroad Company. The result was disappointing, and he did not enjoy the northern Chinese landscape. He died on his way back to Kamakura when he was only 38 years old. His case reveals the complex situation between China and Japan at that time. Though Japanese were familiar with and had learned much from traditional Chinese culture they had to justify their invasion of China. Some scholars such as Inoue Tetsujirô and Katô Hiroyuki, have argued that Chinese culture had been transmitted to Japan so many centuries previously that Japanese could identify it as their own tradition.⁵⁴ Ryûsei's case proves that even an independent artist was not free from the context of Japanese nationalism of this period.

In the 1930s, images of women in modern Chinese dress gradually became popular in Japanese paintings. The robe painted in *Tôyô-buri* seems to be a *changyi* (an informal court dress) of the Tongzhi period (1862-1874, fig.4.45) but

⁵⁴ Sen, Ô. "Nissin Sensôgo ni okeru tai Chûgoku kan oyobi Nihonjin no Seruhu Imôji" (Japanese View on China and Japanese Self-image after the Sino-Japanese War), in Suzuki, Sadami ed., *Zasshi Taiyôto Kokumin Bunka no Keisei (A Magazine "Taiyôto" and the Formation of the National Culture)*, Kyoto, Shibunkaku Shuppan, 2001, pp.250-279.

the dress in *Hôkei* has a upright collar that indicates that it was made in the early 1900s. The Manchurian dresses worn by wealthier women were called *qipao*, but they lost popularity after the establishment of the Chinese Republic in 1912. Under the influence of Western fashion, a new style of *qipao* was designed, whose form had become progressively more slender in the sleeves and body.⁵⁵ Modern Chinese dress gained popularity in Shanghai, and other urban centres in the 1920s and 1930s, and images of young women in modern Chinese dresses were popularised by commercial posters, photographs and films consumed by Westerners and Japanese (fig. 4.46).⁵⁶

Chinese produced images of them for Westerners since the eighteenth century including the China Trade Paintings consumed by the Westerners in the vogue of *Chinoiserie*. Similar to images of Japanese women in kimono, women in Chinese dress, especially noble women in luxurious dress had been received as examples of “exotic” beauty by the West. Rawanchaikul Toshiko pointed out that an image of the “exotic” land of Cathay instead of the real China had been formed by the West and,

The pale and dainty images of females, dressed in brilliantly embroidered Chinese costumes with graceful hair accessories, were a representation of Cathay, the land shrouded in mystery. Thus, the exotically depicted women continued to be painted for the longest duration as the typical image of “China” as far back as the late Qing and until the early Republican era of the early 20th century. It is impossible not to envisage here the power of Western (= male) colonial rulers (= buyers) who enjoyed viewing the representation of the “other” as women. But at the same time, we must also remember that the image was also a representation of the beautiful “China

⁵⁵ Clark, Hazel. “The Cheung Sam: Issues of Fashion and Cultural Revolution”, in Steel, Valerie; Major, John S. eds., *China Chic: East Meets West*, New York; London: Yale University Press, 1999, pp.155-159.

⁵⁶ These examples were shown in the exhibition titled *China Dream: Another Flow of Chinese Modern Art* organised by Fukuoka Asian Art Museum, 2004.

= self" to the Chinese.⁵⁷

Rawanchaikul admitted that images of modern girls in commercial posters were often expressed in a sexualised manner to be the object of the male gaze. Thus, the images were consumed by male viewers as well as the products that the poster advertised. However, she also argued that the images of attractive Chinese women were not only consumed by Westerners but also became the idealised image of the Chinese self. She argued that such images reflected "the norm of the time when women were liberated by the blooming women's rights movement," and "was precisely a representation of the aspiration for modern life style, and the dreams of emancipation held by women in Shanghai and Hong Kong at that time."⁵⁸ The numerous posters showing Chinese girls in modern fashion had been supported by Chinese as a kind of idealised self image of the woman "liberated" from feudalistic values. Ironically, these same "liberated" women had drawn negative reactions from Chinese men and some male Chinese writers even went so far as to depict these modern Chinese women in Shanghai as "femmes fatales" who toyed with men.⁵⁹ Xie Li, who examined the formation of the modern *qipao* from Manchurian dress, also argued that the modern *qipao* became a national dress in modern China, as it was also well received by Han Chinese women.⁶⁰

The above discussion demonstrates that the images of Chinese beauties in modern dress were an object under male gaze but also served as the ideal

⁵⁷ Rawanchaikul, Toshiko. "Another Current of Chinese Modern Art," in Rawanchaikul, Toshiko and Horikawa, Lisa ed., *China Dream: Another Flow of Chinese Modern Art*, Fukuoka: Fukuoka Asian Art Museum, and Niigata: The Niigata Bandaijima Art Museum, 2004, p. 167. Her texts cited above were translated in English in the catalogue. The Japanese text is: 「刺繍入りのあでやかな中国服を着て雅やかな髪飾りをした色白の華奢な貴婦人像は、つまり神秘のベールに包まれた土地「キャセイ」の表象であっただろう。だからこそ、エキゾチックに描かれた貴婦人像は、典型的な「中国」イメージとして、20世紀初めの清末民国初期に至るまでの最も長い期間、描き続けられたと考える。そこに、他者を女性として表象し享受する西洋（自己であり男性）の植民地支配者（買い手）の力を想定しないわけにはいかないが、同時に、中国人にとっては、うるわしい「中国＝自己」の表象であったことも覚えておきたい。」

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Liu, Yi. "Toshi Fûzoku no Shôchô toshiteno 'Modan Gâru'" ('Modern Girl' as a Symbol of City Life), in *Ajia Ryûgaku*, no.62, April 2004, Tokyo: Bensei Shobô, pp.121-129.

⁶⁰ Xie, Li. *Chaina Dorezu o Matou Joseitachi: Chîpao ni miru Chûgokuno Kin-gendai (Women dressed in Chinese Dress: Analysis on Qipao in Modern China)*, Tokyo: Seikûsha, 2004.

image of the “China = self.” Japanese reception of these images could be also analysed from both sides. Japanese writers created characters of modern, sexualised girls in Shanghai as had Chinese writers. Ikeda Shinobu argued that such a Japanese gaze on Chinese women was reflected in images of Japanese women in Chinese dress.⁶¹ However, if we only consider the gaze of imperialism of the Japanese male on the Chinese woman, the vogue of Chinese dress and its images in Japan after 1920s could not be fully explained. There must have been an aspect that the new idea of “China-self” expressed in the images of modern Chinese women that also was attractive to Japanese women. A newspaper reported that Chinese-style dress had become so popular in 1924 that patterns and design in Chinese style had come to be adopted even in kimonos.⁶² Masamune Tokusaburô, an oil painter who studied in Paris and had associated with Henri Matisse, painted his wife in a Chinese-style dress several times after he returned to Japan in 1924. Kaburaki Kiyokata, a leading Japanese-style painter of the period wrote on one of Masamune's painting (fig. 4. 47) that was shown at the *Nika* exhibition in 1931 in a book published in the same year as follows:

To produce images of women in Chinese-style dress has been tried by many painters for several years, and in fact Chinese-style dresses were currently in vogue in women's fashion that could be regularly seen in the streets. We could say that this painting depicted a woman who was fond of such taste. The artist has expressed the beauty of a Chinese-style dress naturally in good arrangement of bright and pleasant colour directly.⁶³

⁶¹ Ikeda, Shinobu. “‘Shina-fuku no On’na’ to iu Yûwaku” (The Allure of Women clothed in Chinese Dress) in *Rekishigaku Kenkyû* (Journal of Historical Studies), no. 765, August 2002, pp.1-37.

⁶² “Chikagoro Medatte kita Chûgoku-fuku no Ryûkô” (Recent Vogue in Chinese-style Dress), in *Yomiuri Shimbun*, 28 September 1924.

⁶³ An explanation by Kaburaki Kiyokata on Plate 23, in Kaburaki, Kiyokata. ed., *Gendai Sakka Bijinga Zenshû: Yôga-hen Jô* (The Complete Series of Paintings of Beauties by Contemporary Artists: The volume of Oil Paintings, 1), Tokyo: Shinchôsha, 1931. The original text in Japanese is: 「支那服を纏はせて婦人像をつくるのは、数年来、いろいろな畫家によつて試みられたところであるが、また實際においても、一時、婦人の服装の上にその流行を見て、街頭にしばしばそれを見受けたりした。この絵は、つまり常にさうした好みにある女性の一人を描いたものであらう。明るく快よい色彩のアランジュマンのうちに、支那服の

Kaburaki Kiyokata witnessed the vogue of Chinese-style dresses in Japanese women, and linked it with the images of Japanese women in Chinese dress represented in paintings. In the vogue of such modern Chinese-style dress in Japan, Yasui Sôtarô's *Kin'yô* (*A Portrait of Kin'yô*, 1934, fig. 4.48), was a portrait of a Japanese woman, Odagiri Mineko, who had been nicknamed *Kin'yô* as if she were Chinese. She lived in Manchuria and was asked by Hosokawa Moritatsu to model for Yasui.⁶⁴ Yasui depicted her sitting in a relaxed manner crossing her legs. She gave us the impression that she was a woman as independent and modern as modern Chinese women who had been liberated from old customs. On the other hand, she was depicted as a sexualised woman who even crossed her legs to reveal a long slit in her dress before the male (artist's) gaze. Okada Saburôsuke painted *Fujin Hanshinzô* (*A Portrait of a Woman*) in 1936 (fig. 4.49), which shows a woman in a modern Chinese dress. The model was painted in profile with a technique that showed a similarity to one in a fresco, and it seemed that Okada, in a sense, followed the images of women created by Fujishima by using a profile that symbolised the fusion of tradition of the East and the West. These paintings by Yasui and Okada will be better understood when we compare them with their works from the same period depicting women in kimono of the same period, which we will discuss in the next chapter.

よさが、わざとならず捉へられてをる。」

⁶⁴ Odagiri, Mineko. " 'Kin'yô' no Omoide" (Memory of 'Kin'yô'), in *Gendai no Me*, no.43, 1 May 1958, Tokyo: Kokuritsu Kindai Bijutsukan, pp. 2-3.

Chapter 5 Representation of “Otherness” and Imperialism in “Kimono Beauty”

5.1 Umehara Ryûzaburô and his images of women under the Westernised gaze

As we have discussed in chapter 3, fashionable kimono in modern age was devised to invent a “national dress.” A particular type of images of “beautiful young girl” dressed in such modern kimono were created at the beginning of the 20th century, which became popular in *Bunten* (Art Exhibition of the Ministry of Culture), which started in 1907. In this chapter, we will explore images of women in kimono after the 1920s, whose nationalist content will be exposed by contrasting them with images of women dressed in East Asian fashion. Japan had increased its power after the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-05, and profited much from its participation in the First World War. As a result of the Treaty of Versailles in 1919, Japan expanded its territory to Micronesia. Encouraged by prosperity in economy, increasing numbers of Japanese artists visited Europe, including Japanese-style painters. On the other hand, after the colonisation of Korea in 1910, Japan confronted resistance in Korea. The *Chôsen Bijutsu Tenrankai* (Korean Art Exhibition), whose name was abbreviated as *Senten*, was established in 1922 as part of the Korean rule under Japanese cultural policy. It was modelled on *Teiten* (The Exhibition of Imperial Academy) and Korean artists could submit their works to these exhibitions as could Japanese artists, but Kim Hyeshin has discovered that Korean artists were encouraged to express a weak and submissive image of Korea in their paintings.¹ Some of the Japanese painters visited Korea as judges of the *Senten*, and made works with Korean subjects, which we will discuss later.

As we have already analysed the case of Fujishima Takeji from the point

¹ Kim, Hyeshin. *Kankoku Kindai Bijutsu Kenkyû: Shokuminchiki 'Chôsen Bijutsu Tenrankai ni miru Ibunka Shihai to Bunka Hyôshô* (Research on Korean Modern Art: Controls over Korean Culture and Its Representation in Analysis on 'Chosen Bijutsu Tenrankai' in the Colonial Period), Tokyo: Brücke, 2005.

view of a triangular relationship among the West, Japan and East Asia, the ideology of imperialism in Japanese art of this period could not simply be explained by the dichotomy of Japan, the dominator and the East Asia, the dominated. Leading Japanese artists visited Korea, Taiwan and China after they studied in Europe, mainly in France, as in the case of Fujishima. Fujishima was not the only artist who had acquired a “Westernised” and “masculine” self in France and represented East Asia with female images.

Umehara Ryûzaburô (1888-1986) went to Paris for the first time from 1908 to 1913. He was born in Kyoto and studied painting in *Kansai Bijutsuin* (Kansai Art School), but was associated with many artists of his generation in Paris from the Tokyo School of Fine Arts, such as Takamura Kôtarô, Saitô Yori, Yamashita Shintarô, and Arishima Ikuma. From Kyoto, Umehara's colleague at *Kansai Bijutsuin*, Yasui Sôtarô and Tanaka Kisaku were in Paris. They introduced to Japan the art of Renoir, Gauguin, Cézanne, Rodin and Fauvism after they went back to Japan. Umehara was well known as a student of Renoir because he visited Renoir several times during his stay in France and had advice on his paintings.² Discussion of Renoir in Japanese magazines, including writings by Umehara, increased from around 1910. He wrote that he hesitated to pay a visit to Renoir in Cagnes while he enjoyed the beautiful scenery of the Côte d'Azur and played in casinos in Monte Carlo with silver coins in his hand.³ This episode must have stimulated interest in Renoir and Umehara in Japan, coupled with the image of Umehara, who was a good-looking and smart man born into a wealthy family. *Kin no Kubikazari* (*Gold Necklace*) by Umehara in 1913 (fig. 5.1) showed his strong admiration for Renoir in colour and in subject—the female nude. The woman looks like female images in Renoir's late figure style, in which women had “breasts shaped like ripe fruits” and “pretty little heads containing no

² On reception of Renoir by Japanese artists including Umehara, see, Kojima, Kaoru. “*Nihonjin Gaka ni Totte no Runowâru: Arushu no Zenei toshite*” (Renoir as a Symbol of the “Avant-garde” for Japanese Artists), in Bridgestone Museum of Art ed., *Runowâru to Nihon no Gaka-tachi* (*Renoir and Japanese Painters*), Bridgestone Museum of Art, the Ishibashi Foundation, 1995, pp.16-22

³ Umehara, Ryôzaburô. “*Runowâru Sensei*” (Monsieur Renoir), in *Bijutsu Shimpô*, vol.16, no.6, April 1917, Tokyo: Gahôsha, p.15-17.

thoughts of any consequence,” as Tamar Garb described.⁴ Japanese art magazines issued writings on Renoir based on freely translated European sources. One of the articles described women in the nude in Renoir's paintings as “a lump of flesh shining like a pearl” and continued, “They are elegant, neat, healthy, natural and strapping.”⁵ Japanese received Renoir as a painter of female nudes, not as an impressionist. Yamashita Shintarô purchased a small painting of a female nude (fig. 5.2) when he visited Renoir in Paris in 1909 with Umehara.⁶ He sent it to the Tokyo School of Fine Arts, and it was introduced in colour plate in a magazine in November 1910.⁷ Another painting of Renoir, purchased in 1913 by Ôhara Sôichirô directly from the artist, is a more typical example of a female nude in the late style of Renoir (fig. 5.3), which had “maternal” body with “broad hips, small apple-like breasts and thick ankles.”⁸

Students of the Tokyo School of Fine Arts had gathered in May 1910 at a small exhibition held by *Abusanto-kai* (the Absinthe Group) in Tokyo and hung up a photograph of a painting by Renoir. Students of the Japanese-style art joined in and are said to have painted works in the style of Renoir and Cézanne in oil paintings.⁹ Expression of sexuality in Renoir's paintings stimulated young artists, and liberated them from academic representation of the female nude. Among the members of *Abusanto-kai*, Yorozu Tetsugorô painted *Ratai Bijin* (*Nude Beauty*) for his graduate work of the Tokyo School of Fine Arts in 1912 (fig. 5.4). The composition of the painting, which shows a half naked woman lying on the grass, is common to works of Kuroda Seiki and Raphaël Collin, but the painting by Yorozu is far from the elegance of *belle-époque*. It seems to be that he made a parody of Kuroda's paintings. Though van Gough did not paint

⁴ Garb, Tamar. *Bodies of Modernity: Figure and Flesh in Fin-de-Siècle France*, London: Thames and Hudson Ltd., p.162.

⁵ Camille-Mauclair, translated by Sanada, Shinkichi, “Ogyusuto Runowâru” (Auguste Renoir) in *Gendai no Yôga*, vol. 2, no.4, 1913, p.1. The Japanese expression is: 「肉の輝く真珠のやうな塊」「優美なキチンとして丈夫さうなそして生な体格のいい女である。」

⁶ Bridgestone Museum of Art ed., *Yamashita Shintarô*, Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppansha, 1955, p.6.

⁷ Front page of *Bijutsu Shimpô*, vol. 10, no.1, November 1910.

⁸ Pointon, Marcia. *Naked Authority: The Body in Western Painting 1830-1908*, Cambridge; New York; Port Chester; Melbourne; Sydney: Cambridge University Press, 1990, pp.92-93.

⁹ *Tokyo Geijutsu Daigaku Hyakunen-shi: Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkô-hen (One Hundred History of the Tokyo National University of Fine Arts & Music: Tokyo School of Fine Arts)*, vol.2, Tokyo: Gyôsei, 1992, p.508.

female nudes in any major works, Yorozu, who admired van Gogh, painted a nude in a manner reminiscent of van Gogh. The models in Western art for Japanese were no longer academic art after 1910, however the male-centred structure established in Japanese art had not changed, or actually strengthened.

Umehara, who was a good student of Renoir, was most interested in painting female nudes throughout his life. He had no trace of showing particular concern in women in kimonos, maybe because kimonos concealed the female body. *Chikusô Rafu (Nude by a Window open to a Bamboo Garden)* (fig. 5.5) has been highly estimated by Japanese critics, shows a muscular body with “breasts shaped like ripe fruits,” big arms and broad hip like the nude by Renoir as Tamar had described. The skin of the model was painted with bold brushstrokes in green colour made from Japanese traditional pigments. He expressed reflection of the light through bamboo outside the window on her skin. After Japan had occupied Beijing under the Sino-Japanese War, he regularly visited from 1939 to 1943 and stayed in a hotel in Beijing for more than one month at a time. He mainly worked on views over the Forbidden City and Chang-an Street, but also made a number of paintings of Chinese girls, who were working in Beijing as hostesses at nightclubs.¹⁰ Umehara painted them with big arms, which showed his interest in parts of the female body exposed by modern Chinese dress (fig. 5.6).¹¹ Among these paintings in Beijing, there is a picture of a girl who played the Chinese lute (fig. 5.7). Yashiro Yukio, an art critic and art historian who was in Beijing with Umehara, found a girl playing Chinese lute interesting and advised Umehara to paint her.¹² The Chinese lute was once popular in Japan, but had been gradually abandoned in the modern age. As we have seen, Uemura Shōen depicted a woman with a Chinese lute as an

¹⁰ On the Umehara working in Beijing, see, Yashiro, Yukio. *Gohho, Runoaru, Umehara, Yasui (Gogh, Renoir, Umehara and Yasui)*, Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1972, pp.150-175.

¹¹ Ikeda Shinobu pointed out that these paintings by Umehara reflected the male gaze under Japanese imperialism, in “*Umehara Ryūzaburō no Kūnyan Rensaku (1939-1943) o Megutte*” (On a Series of Paintings of Chinese Girls by Umehara Ryūzaburō: 1939-1943), in A report of a research project for kagaku kinkyū-hi (researches supported by the Japanese Government) headed by Nagata, Ken'ichi titled *Nijūseiki ni Okeru Sensō to Hyōshō / Geijutsu: Tenji, Eizō, Insatsu, Purodakutsu (War and Representation/Art in the Twentieth Century: Exhibition, Movie, Prints and Products)* in March 2005, pp. 2-15.

¹² Yashiro, Yukio. *Gohho, Runoaru, Umehara, Yasui*, 1972, pp.173-175.

attribution of a “beautiful” woman who had a talent in music in the 1890s, but she did not show such an image afterwards. Images of women playing instruments such as *gekkin* (Chinese guitar) and *shamisen* (Japanese guitar with three strings), popular since the Edo period, decreased in modern Japan. The piano, violin and modern *koto* became exemplary, instead. According to Osa Shizue, the modern *koto* had been encouraged as well as piano, because it was easily adapted to the western musical scale. She has discussed that this phenomenon was all part of a national strategy to create a “modern sound.”¹³ Yashiro and Umehara may have found “pre-modern sound” in Beijing interesting. Yashiro recalled that one of the hostesses played the lute after they had heard a play by a male player of the Chinese lute. They were not interested in the sight of a male professional player but were attracted to a performance by the girl. Yashiro wrote, “Quin-quin was absorbed in playing the Chinese lute and sang songs, without noticing our gaze at her innocent face, big arms and her interesting posture.”¹⁴ Here, a woman with a musical instrument of round shape seemed to be associated with sexual connotation under male gaze, like a woman with a mandolin in Western art. One could conjecture that he found a sense of superiority and “exoticism” in painting such women in China under Japanese occupation. These paintings in Beijing were painted with Japanese pigments solved with oil on paper. Umehara gazed at China through his Westernised eyes and expressed it in “Japanised” oil paintings as a member of the rulers.

5.2 Search for modern images of Japanese beauty

In Kyoto, Tanaka Kisaku (1885-1945), who had been to Paris with Umehara, was active as an art critic. He formed a working group with critics and artists called *Mumei-kai* (Anonymous Group) in December 1909. Tanaka gave a lecture

¹³ Osa, Shizue, *Kindai Nihon to Kokugo Nashonarizumu (Nationalism of 'National Language' of Modern Japan)*, Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1998.

¹⁴ Yashiro, Yukio, Gohho, Runowāru, Umehara, Yasui, 1972, pp.174. The original text in Japanese is: 「我々が、琵琶を弾く彼女の無邪気な顔や、有力な腕や、姿勢の面白さに見入っていることも知らないで、卿々は夢中になつて、琵琶を弾いて、且つ歌つた。」

at the fourth meeting of the group on 19 March 1910, where he introduced artists such as Whistler, Renoir, Gauguin, Puvis de Chavanne and Matisse. He explained recent writings on modern art by John Ruskin, Maurice Denis and Hippolyte Taine.¹⁵ Tanaka's lecture gave new information about European modern art to Japanese artists. Young artists including Tsuchida Bakusen (1887-1936) formed *Kuroneko-kai* (The Black Cat Group) with Tanaka in December 1910. The name was taken from the famous French café named *Le Chat Noir* (The Black Cat) in Montmartre¹⁶ Members included works of a French-trained oil painter, Umehara Ryûzaburô and Tsuda Seifû. The April 28, 1911 issue of the newspaper *Hinode Shimbun*, reported that members were preparing for the exhibition:

Members of *Kuroneko-kai*, such as Tanaka Zennosuke, Kuroda Jûtarô, Tsuda Seifû, and Tanaka Kisaku recently have been working on a model for the celestial woman together almost every evening at Mr. Nishikawa's house in Oshikôji Miyukichô. Seifû paints her portrait, and Kisaku is making a sculpture of her nude. (...) The model for the celestial woman is good in face and proportion. She is one of the best models in Japan we can find now.¹⁷

The "model for the celestial woman" is a nude model. Takeuchi Seihô (1864-1942), Tsuchida Bakusen's teacher, was working on a ceiling painting of *Higashi Honganji* temple in Kyoto at that time and he hired a model who could pose nude for his drawing for celestial women on the ceiling (fig. 5.7). Seihô was

¹⁵ Records of Tanaka's lecture were reported in several issues of *Hinode Shimbun*, and they were reprinted in Shimada, Yasuhiro. *Kyoto no Nihonga: Kindai no Yôran (Nihon-ga Paintings in Kyoto: Early days of modern ages)*, Kyoto: Kyoto Shimbunsha, 1991, pp.385-405.

¹⁶ Shimada, Yasuhiro. *Kyoto no Nihonga: Kindai no Yôran*, 1991, pp.416-417.

¹⁷ The National Museum of Modern Art, Kyoto. ed. *Kindai Kyoto Gadan to Seiyô: Nihonga no Kishutachi (Modern Kyoto Painting Circle and Western Culture- Revolutionaries in Nihon-ga)*, Kyoto: The National Museum of Modern Art, Kyoto, 1999, p.124. The original text in Japanese is: 「黒猫会の田中善之助、黒田重太郎、津田青楓、田中喜作諸氏は頃日来毎晩のやうに、押小路御幸町なる西川氏方楼上に於て例の天女のモデルを借来つて何れも思ひ思ひの製作に従事して居た。青楓君は肖像を描き喜作君は裸体の塑像を作りつゝある。(中略) 天女のモデル君は顔もイゝ身体もイゝ、現下に於ける日本有数の好モデルだけな。」

a Japanese-style painter, but travelled to Europe in 1900 and learned about Western art. It was still quite challenging for a Japanese-style painter in Kyoto to use a nude model in those days. Seihō could not complete the ceiling painting, but his students had of the opportunity to do life study of the female nude. In this situation, young male artists gathered around a female nude model.

The group disbanded before they held an exhibition, and some of the members, including Tsuchida Bakusen, quickly formed a new group called *Ru Masuku* (The Mask), which is a transliteration of “Le Mask” in French. They held an exhibition in May 1911, made a booklet and wrote their manifesto:

Once Eugène Carrière wrote for an exhibition of Rodin that “La transmission de la pensée par l’art, comme la transmission de la vie, oeuvre de passion et d’amour.” This is what we want to convey thorough our works. We also expect that not only our poor works but also our exhibition itself will be an expression of our passion and sexual desire.¹⁸

This manifesto tells us clearly that eroticism was the core of their artistic motivation. They used metaphors of love and sexuality to explain their passion for art. Art groups tied with masculine camaraderie increased in Japan centred on the female nude and “eros.”

The paintings shown in *Ru Masuku* were not well known, with the exception of a work by Bakusen titled *Kami* (Hair, fig. 5.9), which was subsequently a prize winner at the fifth *Buntō*. This painting shows a woman in underwear of kimono with a glimpse of her underwear fixing her hair before a mirror; voyeurism of a woman getting dressed was a common male-centred subject. Bakusen painted the arms and fingers of the model by using reddish tones to express the shades of soft skin. Viewers can gaze sideways at her breast, which is slightly revealed

¹⁸ Ibid., p.124. The original text in Japanese is: 「Eugène Carrière が Rodin 作品展覧会に序して La transmission de la pensée par l’art, comme la transmission de la vie, oeuvre de passion et d’amour. と云つたことは私等会員個々の作品の期するところであるが、やがて又私等の貧しい作品以外に私等の展覧会そのものが情慾と愛恋の所作でありたいと思ふ。」

by rolled up sleeves, though her face is hidden by her arm.

His other works, such as *Shima-no On'na* (*Island Women*) (fig. 5.10) in 1912 and *Ama* (*Woman Divers*) (fig. 5.11) in 1913 have been explained in numerous exhibition catalogues and books as examples that show his interest in Gauguin. *Shima-no On'na* was made after a trip to *Hachijō-jima* (Hachijō Island), a small island located 287 kilo meters south of Tokyo. Though he made the painting based on his real experience, his images were not represented realistically. Figures of half-naked women are drawn in simplified forms without individuality. The woman on the right side of the picture is combing her hair. This kind of images of combing woman might have been derived from *ukiyo-e* prints and was used by the Western artists such as by Degas, Mary Cassatt and Renoir in their works. It is impossible to pinpoint what Bakusen used as his source, whether *ukiyo-e* prints or the Western paintings, though he was quite aware of the eroticism inherent in this kind of posture of a woman as Doris Croissant has previously shown. Women combing or washing their hair half nude was a particularly common theme for Japanese artists in the 1910s. For example, Kaburaki Kiyokata showed two women in such a pose in a pair of screens titled *Kurokami* (*Black Hair*) at the eleventh *Bunten* in 1917 (fig. 5.12). He wrote that he had seen a Kabuki play and was impressed with a scene in which an actor playing the role of a young woman washing her hair in the early morning.¹⁹ To give another example, Nojima Yasuzō (1910-1932), who was a painter, a photographer and a patron well associated with Umehara and Ryūsei, took a photograph titled "Woman Combing Her Hair" in 1914 (fig. 5.13). Nonagase Banka (1889-1964), who organised the *Kokuga Sōsaku Kyōkai* (Association to Create National Paintings) with Bakusen, exhibited *Shoka no Nagare* (*Mountain Torrent in Early Summer*) (fig. 5.14) for its first exhibition in 1918. He showed two women and a boy in a tropical setting, which expressed a primitive sexuality just as Bakusen's *Shima no On'na* had. Although the

¹⁹ Kaburaki, Kiyokata. "Kurokami" (Black Hair), in *Bi no Kuni*, Tokyo: Kōrakusha, vol. 11, no. 8, August 1935, pp. 37-39.

iconography they used was nothing new, young artists expressed sexuality in their works in a more straightforward way stimulated by a new trend in European art. Croissant also pointed out that the image of the women with the mortar on the left screen had an erotic meaning associated with old vulgar love song, or perhaps even a pornographic allusion.²⁰

Interest in the “southern” islands was not particular to Bakusen. Wada Sanzô went to Oshima in preparation for his oil painting for the first *Bunten* in 1907, where he won the second prize with *Nampû* (*South Wind*), which showed fishermen on a boat to Oshima. Nakamura Tsune stayed in Oshima in 1914 and 1915 and painted landscapes of the island. Oshima is the largest island among the Izu Islands, which also include Hachijô-jima and Miyake-jima. During the Edo Period, these islands were a place for banishment. Bakusen was born in Sado, which is an island on the north side of *Honshû* (the main island of Japan) where exiles lived before the Edo period. For him, *Hachijô* Islands were a totally unknown distant place. It is no wonder that he found life on a southern island to be somewhat exotic. It could be said that Bakusen portrayed women in *Shima no On'na* as “the other” from the perspective of people living in urban life,²¹ just as Gauguin had expressed “otherness” in his paintings of Tahiti.²² Unlike usual Japanese-style paintings, Bakusen did not leave the background of *Shima no On'na* blank but rather covered it with thick pigments of yellowish colour, as if he had painted it with oil using a painting knife. Female figures were drawn in bold lines that expressed the voluptuousness of their bodies with broad hips and large breasts. These aspects of this painting showed the artist's interest in Western-style paintings, such as those by Renoir and Gauguin.

In *Ama*, he covered the whole surface with colour pigments, on top of which

²⁰ Croissant, Doris. “Icons of Femininity: Japanese national Painting and the Paradox of Modernity,” in Mostow, Joshua S.; Bryson, Norman; Graybill, Maribeth. eds., *Gender and Power: in the Japanese Visual Field*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003, pp. 120-122.

²¹ The first remark on the “otherness” expressed in Bakusen's *Shima no On'na* was made by Ikeda Shinobu. See, Ikeda, Shinobu. *Nihon Kaiga no Josei-zô Jendâshi no Shiten kara* (*Images of Women in Japanese Paintings: from the View Point of Gender Studies*), Tokyo: Chikuma Shobô, 1998.

²² For an example of a research on the issues of colonialism on Gauguin, Eisenman, Stephen F. *Gauguin's Skirt*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1997.

female figures were expressed in simple forms with curvy outlines. This reminds us of the previous discussion on the discourse about female nudes explained as a component of wavy lines. Bakusen must have been mainly interested in composing the shape of female nudes in nature, in an environment opposite that of modern city. Matsumoto Matatarô pointed out that lines and colours were so simplified that a primitive life unaffected by culture was well represented.²³

On this painting, Croissant pointed out that the sleeping woman in the left of the picture resembles the reclining woman in Hodler's painting, *The Night* (1889-1890, Bern: Kunst Museum). She surmised that Bakusen could have known this famous painting, but also assumed that "both artists had independently made use of prototypes found in erotic art"²⁴ and gave the examples of *shunga* (pornography in Edo period) and a set of well-known *ukiyo-e* prints by Utamaro, *Awabi-tori* (*Abalone Divers*) (fig. 5.15). Though it is possible that Bakusen had seen such images in *ukiyo-e*, it is more likely that he was not conscious of his using the iconology from *ukiyo-e*. The episode of Kaburaki Kiyokata of his seeing the image of a woman combing her hair in a scene of a Kabuki play does much to explain that such iconography of eroticism that *ukiyo-e* painters expressed was still alive and was widely recognised as such. When Japanese-style painters were as interested in painting female nudes as oil painters, *Ama* was a convenient subject. Chigusa Sôun (1873-1944), who, like Bakusen, was also a student of Takeuchi Seihô and had joined *Mumei-kai* with him, displayed a work called *Ama* (*Woman Divers*) in 1908 (fig. 5.16) at the exhibition of *Heigo-gakai*, which was a small group of Japanese-style painters who pursued nude studies.²⁵

In preparation for *Ama*, Bakusen went to Nagiri village in Mie prefecture to the south of Kyoto, where Chigusa Sôun had visited for his *Ama*.²⁶ Nagiri village

²³ Matsumoto, Matatarô, *Gendai no Nihonga (Contemporary Nihon-ga)*, Tokyo: Hokubunkan, 1927, p. 283.

²⁴ Croissant, Doris. "Icons of Femininity: Japanese national Painting and the Paradox of Modernity," in Mostow, Joshua S.; Bryson, Norman; Graybill, Maribeth. eds., *Gender and Power: in the Japanese Visual Field*, 2003, p.124.

²⁵ On *Heigo-gakai*, see, Shimada, Yasuhiro. *Kyôto no Nihonga: Kindai no Yôran*, 1991, pp. 232-238.

²⁶ Shimada, Yasuhiro. "Yomigaeru Chigusa Sôun" (Chigusa Sôun Rediscovered), in *Nihonga no*

located to the south of Kyoto was a warm local place with natural surroundings by the sea. Just like the south *Bôsô* for painters in Tokyo, Nagiri village provided good locations for painters from Kyoto to sketch. As we have seen in the manifestos for *Kamen-kai*, Bakusen and his friends had knowledge of French art after impressionism, and received it as a way of expressing eroticism that liberated themselves from established art. *Shima no On'na* and *Ama* showed his practice of expression in sexuality by showing female nudes in nature.

Another reason that Bakusen and his colleagues were interested in depicting female subjects in nature could be the impact of Matsumoto Matatarô. Matsumoto was a scholar of psychology at Kyoto Imperial University but also an art critic. After *Kyoto Kaiga Senmon Gakkô* (Kyoto Painting School) had been established in 1909, Matsumoto was installed as a headmaster of the school and was nominated to be a member of the panel of judges at *Bunten*. Murakami Bunga, a writer for *Hinode Shimbun* (Sunrise Newspaper) in Kyoto, discussed through his column in the newspaper in 1919 the importance of Matsumoto who had encouraged students to work on the subjects known as *den-en shumi* (taste for rural subjects).²⁷ This is considerable, as this remark was made by a writer who could have witnessed art scene first hand, and that it was written in as early as 1919. Matsumoto suggested new subjects for young artists to work on. Among them, he promoted the theme of woman in nature. He wrote that artists in Kyoto could easily find subjects of young women working in the suburbs. Matsumoto even praised *Shima no On'na* by Bakusen as a good example of a rural subject.²⁸ According to Murakami, students of the school devoted themselves to sketching tea pickers in Uji (a famous place for producing tea in the south of Kyoto) and *oharame* (flower vendors who hail from the north of

Jikkensha, Chigusa Sôun Kaiko-ten (A Retrospective of Chigusa Sôun, an Experimental Artist), Kyoto: Kyoto-shi Syakai Kyôiku Sinkô Zaidan and Kyoto-shi Kyôiku linkai, 1991, pp. 1-2.

²⁷ Murakami's column was titled "*Kaiga Shinkôshi*" (*A History of Progress in Painting*) and it was reprinted with comments by Shimada Yasuhiro in, Shimada, Yasuhiro. *Kyôto no Nihonga: Kindai no Yôran*, 1991, pp. 434-437.

²⁸ Matsumoto, Matatarô. *Gendai no Nihonga*, 1927, pp.71-78. (This part was included in the first edition published in 1915).

Kyoto), encouraged by Matsumoto's lectures.²⁹ Bakusen exhibited a work called *Oharame* in the ninth Bunten, which was well received by the public (fig. 5.17). It should be noted that Matsumoto was not born in Kyoto, but in Gunma in the eastern part of Japan. He could gaze at rural female workers in Kyoto and their natural surroundings as an outsider. It should be recalled that Bakusen was also born in Sado, a distant island, and therefore could have understood Matsumoto's idea well.

By 1919, Bakusen no longer applied for the *Bunten* and organised a group of Japanese-style painters with his colleagues at *Kyoto Kaiga Senmon Gakkô* (Kyoto Painting School), which was called *Kokuga Sôsaku Kyôkai* (Association to Create National Paintings). For the first exhibition, Bakusen showed *Yuna* (A Courtisan in a Bathhouse) (fig. 5.18). For this painting, he prepared by making several drawings of a nude model. A woman's round face and her round breast might be a reminiscent of Renoir's paintings. Bakusen, had a strong admiration for Western art and went to France with his friends in 1921. He travelled around Europe until 1923, when he returned to Japan.³⁰ In Paris, he frequently visited galleries, such as Durand-Ruel and Bernheim-Jeune, as well as museums. At one point, he visited a house where Renoir had lived in his later days in Cagne on his way to Italy, where he could see Renoir's paintings left in his atelier.³¹ Bakusen then visited major cities in Italy for a month, where he was much impressed with the Renaissance art, especially the works by Bernardino Luini, Benozzo Gozzoli and Fra Angerico. Finally, he travelled to Spain, Germany, England, Holland and Belgium. During his stay in Paris, he made a great effort to purchase artwork by modern French artists, including Renoir, Cézanne, van

²⁹ Sihmada, Yasuhiro. *Kyôto no Nihonga: Kindai no Yôran*, 1991, p. 436-437.

³⁰ Bakusen's everyday life can be known from his numerous letters to his patron and his wife. They are reprinted in Tanaka, Hisao. ed., "*Tsuchida Bakusen no Yôropa kara no Shokan*" (Tsuchida Bakusen's Letters from Europe), in *Seijôdaigaku Daigakuin Bungaku Kenkyûka* ed., *Bigaku Bijutushi Ronshû*, no. 4, part 2, August, 1984, pp.3-186, no.6, July 1987, pp. 39-274, and no. 7, pp. 39-147. Some of them were printed in the catalogue: The National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo, ed., *Tsuchida Bakusen-ten*, Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Shimbunsha, 1997.

³¹ Osaka Jiji Shimpô ed., *Oshû Geijutsu Junrei Kikô*, Osaka: Osaka Jiji Shimpô, 1923, pp. 62-69.

Gough and Redon, though they were small pieces.³² During his stay in Europe, he sketched landscapes and made studies with models. A drawing for a painting of French women, which he could not finish, shows a cubist composition in the Art Deco style (fig.5.19).

After returning from his stay in Europe, he was impressed with the beauty of Japanese women and the Japanese landscape as if he were a foreigner beholding an exotic spectacle. He wrote his impression of the Japanese art that he saw in the Imperial Household Museum in Kyoto and Nara:

They are as magnificent of works as those that I was so impressed with in France and in Italy. (...) I wondered how such splendid art could be born in this small country of Japan in East Asia. (...) I am pleased to be able to have fresh interest in looking at Japanese people and landscapes these days as if I am an *étranger*. I am shocked by the beauty when I look at houses in the countryside because of their natural and complex structures, *maiko* hairstyles of and the knot in the scarf worn by *oharame*, and I cannot move.³³

Bakusen had acquired the eye of a Westerner through his experience in Europe, and gazed at Japanese landscape, women and art as if he was a stranger. Contrary to Fujishima, Bakusen praised these Japanese things enthusiastically. He compared a Japanese hand scroll with a miniature in Persia, a Buddhist sculpture by Unkei with a sculpture by Michelangelo, and concluded that these Japanese art works were superior to those of European art. He gave up the painting of women in Paris but worked on two large paintings of *maiko* and

³² The National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo, ed., *Tsuchida Bakusen-ten*, 1997, pp. 178-179.

³³ Tsuchida, Bakusen. "Kichō-go no Dai-ichi Inshō" (The First Impression After Coming Back to Japan), in *Chūōbijutsu*, Tokyo: Chūōbijutsusha, vol. 9, no. 9, September 1923, pp. 140-141. The original Japanese text is 「自分が仏蘭西や伊太利であれ程感心した立派な作品と同様実にそれは素晴らしいものです。(中略) よくもこうした立派なものがこの東海の小国、日本に生れたものだとい寸不思議な気がします。(中略) この頃自分は却つてエトランゼーの様に日本の人物、或は風景に新鮮な興味を持つ事が出来るのを喜んで居ます。これ迄気づかなかつた田舎家の自然でしかも変化のある組み立て、又舞妓の髪の形ち、大原女の手拭ひの結びにも動きの取れない美しさを感じずる事が出来ます。」

oharame and showed a work titled *Bugi Rinsen* (*A Maiko in Japanese Garden*) (fig. 5.20) at the fourth exhibition of *Kokuga Sôsaku Kyôkai* in 1924. He completed another work, *Oharame* (*Flower Vendors*) (fig. 5.21) in 1927, and exhibited it at the sixth exhibition of *Kokuga Sôsaku Kyôkai*. He rediscovered the subjects of women and nature in Kyoto that Matumoto Matatarô had suggested as though he was a foreigner.

It would be easy to conclude that Bakusen had become a kind of “Japano-centrist”, but he did not abandon what he had studied in Europe. For *Bugi Rinsen* and *Oharame*, Bakusen prepared numbers of sketches and plans of compositions in the same way as an academic painter composes paintings. He did make large works in the same way before he had been to Europe, but he succeeded in shaping his concept clear with much more constructive compositions than before. In *Bugi Rinsen*, he depicted a *maiko* sitting in a Japanese garden that was elaborately arranged in intricate detail based on his intensive studies. Stones and trees in the garden were made into simplified geometric forms. The sky and the water were painted in the same greenish-blue colour, which unified the whole composition with the green lawn and trees. One could identify the impact of modern artists like Cézanne in the geometric composition, as well as the trace of the Early Renaissance and Renaissance art. The contrast of the large figure with the small trees and a *maiko*’s round face might look like the paintings of the Early Renaissance, for example landscape by Benozzo Gozzoli and the Virgin Mary in Fra Angelico (fig. 5.22).³⁴ In *Oharame*, Bakusen painted dandelions and *yamabuki* (kerria) in round yellow patterns that were proportionally large. These covered the ground and the background, which altered the viewer’s perception of depth. Such expression is also similar to the early Renaissance paintings or Persian miniatures. The triangular composition of three figures sitting on the ground, that could be compared with *Le Déjeuner*

³⁴ Furuta Ryô also suggested the possibility of Gozzoli’s impact on “*Bugi Rinsen*” in “*Tsuchida Bakusen Shiron: Meishô o Chushin nisite*” (*Tsuchida Bakusen: With a Focus on Maiko Girl*), in *MUESUM*, Tokyo: Tokyo National Museum, no.599, December 2005, pp. 57-69.

sur l'herbe (*Luncheon on the Grass*) by Édouard Manet, seems to be modelled after a kind of altar paintings showing Maria and a child with saints. It seems that Bakusen doubled images of *oharame*'s white scarf with that of Mary with a veil. Here, Bakusen did not add the elements of "Tôyô" in this painting like Fujishima, but he also tried to produce "Japanese" images using figures of women in nature with fusing the Renaissance art. For him, images of women were a kind of vehicle to express his ideas. He no longer had interest in female nudes that had symbolised the Western art for him before he had been to Europe, but hairstyles and kimono fashion helped him to show "Japaneseness" in his paintings. His 1930 painting of a *maiko* girl (fig. 5.23) depicts her in a room rendered in pale colours. Only the patterns of the kimono she wears stand out in vivid colour. In this painting, he abandoned the elements to reveal the impact of European paintings. The *maiko* was only needed to add the colour patterns on her kimono in this painting. In fact, the painter was more interested in showing "kimono with a woman" than "a woman in kimono." Let us now look at another leading Japanese-style painter in Kyoto, Kikuchi Keigetsu (1879-1955), who had significant shared experience with Bakusen. Keigetsu was born in Nagano and studied art in Kyoto, where he was an outsider just as Bakusen was. He also travelled in Europe in 1922-23 and made several sketches and copies of the Early Renaissance and the Renaissance paintings during his trip (fig. 5.24). He did not choose "the avant-garde" position like Bakusen, but was quite committed to inventing a new style of expression in his paintings. He worked on a variety of subjects and had mainly depicted contemporary scenes before he went to Europe. His 1924 work titled *Ryûjo* (*Standing Women*) (fig. 5.25), which was shown in the fifth *Teiten* in the year following his return to Japan showed women who resembled *yô* figurines from the Tang dynasty. Inspired by the Renaissance paintings, Keigetsu must have been attempting to express *Tôyô* as Fujishima had.

In 1928, he depicted women living on an isolated island of the southern

archipelago of Yaeyama near Okinawa in a work titled *Haihateroma* (*Haihateroma Island*) (fig. 5.26). Okinawa became Japanese territory in 1879, which marked the first step in imperialism in modern Japan. In the legend of Okinawa, Haihateroma Island was a kind of paradise whose real existence was uncertain. It was said to be an island far in the south of the Hateruma Island in the Yaeyama archipelago. This archipelago was ruled by Japan after the Sino-Japanese war. Keigetsu showed women in ethnic clothes sitting in southern landscapes with vivid colour, in a manner that he had never attempted before his travels in Europe. The scenery seems to be that of a pastoral utopian world. In *Haihateroma*, his emphasis on contrast of perspective and delicate description in landscape may be a reflection of his study of the Early Renaissance paintings that he encountered in Italy. Kikuchi's images of women in primitive fashion represented the Japanese borderlands in the south as a primitive utopia. Women were represented with downcast eyes and bare feet while they were engaged in a traditional work. In the background, small figures showing native people carrying loads on their head emphasised the "otherness" and "primitiveness" of the world in the painting.

5.3 "Kimono Beauty" in contrast with female images in colonies

The economic depression after the big earthquake in Tokyo in 1923 rendered the management of *Kokuga Sōsaku Kyōkai* difficult. The group added an oil painting department in 1925, but the *nihon-ga* department was disbanded in 1928. Beginning the following year, Bakusen sent his paintings to *Teiten* and was nominated to be a member of the panel of judges in 1930. Bakusen's *Keshi* (*Poppies*) (fig. 5.27) was submitted for this *Teiten* and was purchased by *Kunaishō* (the Imperial Household Ministry) in 1929. He was no longer an "avant-garde" artist. Poppies had been depicted in Chinese paintings by court painters in the Song and the Yuan Dynasties, known as *intai-ga* (paintings in the

manner by court painters), which had been highly esteemed in Japan.³⁵ Other artists besides Bakusen, such as Kobayashi Kokei and Maeda Seison, worked on this subject in the 1920s and 1930s. Maeda's painting can be explained as a version of *Rimpa* style that depicted pods of opium (fig. 5. 28). These paintings reflected the artists' studies on paintings from the Chinese and Japanese past. However, they also witnessed Japanese society advancing toward war. Bakusen made numerous studies of poppies for his painting by visiting poppy farms. In fact, poppy cultivation was encouraged by the Japanese government after the end of the First World War in order to secure enough morphine for Japan.³⁶ Supported by the government, Japanese farmers profited by poppy cultivation.³⁷ Thus, the poppies in Bakusen's painting reflected an aspect of contemporary Japanese society.

Bakusen travelled to Korea in 1933 and depicted two Korean courtesans in *Heishô* (*Wooden Bed*), a painting that was shown at the fourteenth *Teiten* exhibition (fig.5.29). This work was painted mostly in white with simple contour lines and the figures of the Korean girls look faint and humble. It is clear that they are *kisaeng* (a kind of geisha in Korea, a hostess) because a bed and a mirror were also included. In a letter, Bakusen acknowledged that he was less interested in Korean models than Japanese *maiko* because he could not find any beautiful model or was discouraged by their cheap clothes.³⁸ Bakusen, who discovered his identity as a Japanese painter by painting the beauty of kimono, needed to devise a new method of expression to show the colonised culture using images of women. In this painting, critics found evidence of Bakusen's study on ancient paintings in China, and esteemed beauties in lines.³⁹

³⁵ The National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo ed., *The National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo*, ed, *Tsuchida Bakusen-ten*, 1997, p.126 and p.181.

³⁶ "Yakusô no Shishoku Kenkyû" (Research on Cultivation of Medical Herbs), in *Karafuto Nichi Nichi Shimbun*, 20 January 1918, in Kobe University Library, Digital Archive, (<http://www.lib.kobe-u.ac.jp/dlib/index.html>) reported the government's encouragement of farmers to cultivate medical herbs, including poppies.

³⁷ "Moukaru Keshi Saiba" (The Cultivation of Poppies is Profitable), in *Osaka Asahi Shimbun*, 23 July 1929, in Kobe University Library, Digital Archive.

³⁸ A letter from Tsuchida Bakusen to Ikeda Kôei on 31 May 1933 cited in *The National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo* ed., *Tsuchida Bakusen-ten*, 1997, p. 182.

³⁹ Reviews of *Heishô* by Kaburaki Kyokata, in *Tôei*, November 1933 and Nakata Katsunosuke in *Tokyo*

"Kisaeng Tourism" was a main entertainment for Japanese travellers, and numerous postcards with photographs of *kisaeng* were produced. Kawamura Minato has pointed out that these images of *kisaeng* were always *chi'ma* and *chōgori* with the same hairstyles, and often lean on something and cock their heads without looking at the viewers directly.⁴⁰ He concluded that these postcard images were made under the gaze of male Japanese who ruled its colony. Two *kisaeng* in Bakusen's painting were also shown in submissive poses. As Kim Hyeshin has noted, images of *kisaeng*, including that by Bakusen, were depicted under gendered male gaze of Japanese so as to represent the colonised Korea with sexualised images.⁴¹

Bakusen's *Heishō* was exhibited in the eleventh *Teiten* in 1933. In this year, *Tairei Kinen Kyōto Bijutsukan* (the Commemoration Art Museum for the Enthronement of the Emperor in Kyoto, now known as the Kyoto Municipal Museum of Art) opened. It was established by the city of Kyoto and supported by leading financiers and citizens in Kyoto to commemorate the ceremony of *Gotaiten* (the enthronement) of Shōwa Emperor in 1928.⁴² For the opening of the museum, the eleventh *Teiten* had an encore exhibit in Kyoto after Tokyo. A photograph of the gallery at the exhibition illustrated quite well the gendered power relationship between Korea and Japan (fig. 5.30). Two young Japanese women in luxurious kimono are watching *Heishō* in the museum to commemorate the Japanese emperor, which exemplifies the imperial power of Japan. Gorgeous kimono and simple *chi'ma* and *chōgori* make explicit the contrast between modern prosperous life in Kyoto and an exploited people of a colony. In the galleries of *Teiten* in the new museum, citizens of Kyoto could have seen *Arisan no Gogatsu* (*Mount Ari in May*) (fig. 5.31), by Kawamura

Asahi Shimbun, 19 October 1933, reprinted in The National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo ed., *Tsuchida Bakusen-ten*, 1997, p. 182.

⁴⁰ Kawamura, Minato. *Kisen: Mono iu Hana no Bunka-shi* (Cultural History on Kisaeng), Tokyo: Sakuhinsha, 2001, pp. 202-219.

⁴¹ Kim, Hyeshin. *Kankoku Kindai Bijutsu Kenkyū: Shokuminchiki 'Chōsen Bijutsu Tenrankai ni miru Ibunka Shihai to Bunka Hyōshō*, 2005, pp. 102-110.

⁴² Yoshinaka, Mitsuyo. ed., *Uruwashi no Kyoto, Itoshi no Bijutsukan (70th Anniversary Celebration: Favorites & Memories)*, Kyoto: Kyoto Municipal Museum of Art, 2003.

Manshû (1880-1942), and *Asa (Morning)* (fig. 5.32), by Katsuta Tetsu (1896-1980) as well as *Heishô. Arisan no Gogatsu* was one of a pair of paintings titled *Taiwan Shoken (Impression in Taiwan)* and another piece was a scene of a cityscape in Taiwan.⁴³ Arisan was the Japanese name of a mountain in Taiwan near *Niitaka-yama* (New High Mountain). Mt. Fuji is the highest mountain in Japan, and a kind of Japanese national symbol. However, Japanese found in Taiwan a mountain higher than Mt. Fuji, and called it *Niitaka-yama*, which became a symbol of Japanese territorial expansion. Kawamura's work showed a view of a steep mountain in Taiwan in rather traditional technique. In other words, Japanese colonial holdings were perfectly visualised as Japanese territory in this painting. This work was purchased by the Imperial Household Ministry and housed in the Imperial Palace. Another work by Katsuta Tetsu showed very modern life with an interior that included a record player, a bed and a rattan chair as well as a window with lace curtains. A woman in the room is wearing a Western-style summer dress and has a permed hair, which was a typical *Moga* fashion. The word *Moga*, which is an abbreviated form of the Japanese words for "Modern Girl," was popularised in the 1920s. This word had a negative connotation and was used to criticise young women who had less conservative morals.⁴⁴ A woman in Katsuta's *Asa* was represented in an eroticised manner, lying on a bed with exposed arms. The image of *Moga* was also an object of male desire just like the *kisaeng* in *Heishô*.

In the year after the opening of *Tairei Kinen Kyôto Bijutsukan*, an inaugural exhibition was held in the museum. *Tairei Hôshuku kai* (the Society to Commemorate the Enthronement of the Emperor), organised in Kyoto, had not

⁴³ Comments on this painting by Okuma Toshiyuki in Kunaichô San-no-maru Shôzôkan ed., *Kanten o Irodotta Meihin, Wadaiaku: Taishô, Shôwa shoki no Kaiga to Kôgei (Masterpieces and Conversation Pieces in the Governmental Exhibitions: Paintings and Craft Works of the Taisho and Early Showa Periods)*, Tokyo: The Museum of the Imperial Collections, 2005, pp. 55-56. He pointed out the imperialism reflected in this painting.

⁴⁴ Definitions of the word "Moga" by male writers of the period were discussed in the following articles: Silverberg, Miriam. "The Modern Girl as Militant" in Lee, Bernstein Gail. ed., *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600-1945*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991, pp. 239-266. On the examination of images of *Moga*, see Mizusawa, Tsutomu. ed., *Mobo Moga: 1910-1935 (Modern Boy Modern Girl: Modernity in Japanese Art, 1910-1935)*, Kamakura: Museum of Modern Art, Kamakura, 1998.

only raised the foundation to build the museum but also donated several artworks to the museum.⁴⁵ Among them, *Piano (Piano*, fig.5.33) by Nakamura Daizaburô (1898-1947) commemorated a concert held in a junior high school in Kyoto when the piano was donated to the school. A young pianist wearing a gorgeous kimono reflected the modern atmosphere in the urban city where a woman could have higher education. However, the composition still followed a kind of cliché in which the female image was shown with a musical instrument. The woman in this painting had worked twice for the public. The first time was the commemoration of a concert, and the second time was the celebration of the opening of the museum. This demonstrates an expected task of a “kimono beauty” as a kind of accessory to modern cities in the Japanese Empire. Nakamura also produced a fashionable “kimono beauty” in a modern interior, using popular actress Irie Takako as a model. This work was exhibited at *Teiten* in 1930 (fig. 5.34).⁴⁶ Though she worked as a movie actress, she was born into a family of *kazoku* (aristocrats under the rule of the Meiji Government), which might have facilitated her fame.

Kikuchi Keigetsu exhibited paintings of contemporary women fashionably dressed in modernised kimono in the first half of the 1930s. For example, *Yûzen no Shôjo* (*A Young Woman Dressed in Kimono Dyed in Yûzen*) (fig. 5. 35) in 1933 was shown at an exhibition for members of his atelier, and *Sansaku* (*A Walk*) (fig. 5.36) was exhibited in the fifteenth *Teiten* in 1934. In *Yûzen no Shôjo*, A young woman wearing a pair of slippers sits on a chair with a cushion, which indicates her residence in a modern home. As the title indicates, the artist’s main purpose is to depict the colour combination of this beautifully dyed kimono. Another picture, *Sansaku*, shows a girl with short hair in a striped kimono, that was in fashion in the 1930s, walking with a Western breed of dog, which also illustrates modern urban situation. Whereas *Moga* were not welcomed for their independent behaviour that threatened the government policy of “good wife,

⁴⁵Yoshinaka, Mitsuyo. ed., *Uruwashi no Kyoto, Itoshi no Bijutsukan*, 2003, pp. 10-11.

⁴⁶ Honolulu Academy of Arts ed., *Taishô Chic*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002, p. 73.

wise mother,” these “good” young women neatly dressed in kimono in modern fashion were a desirable subject for urban male viewers.

Hayami Gyoshû (1894-1935) is another example to be explored by the representation of “otherness” in contrast to “kimono beauties” after his experience in Europe. Gyoshû was born in Tokyo and studied in the private art school of Matsumoto Fûko. He joined a group known as *Seki-yô-kai* (The Group of the Red Sun), headed by Imamura Shikô, which was active from 1914 until Shikô’s death in 1915. Members held an exhibition in tents in a their patron’s huge garden in 1914. They got the idea for such an exhibition after hearing about *le Salon des Indépendents* (The Independent Exhibitions) that was held at a temporary site by the side of the Seine River in Paris.⁴⁷ Imamura Shikô must have had interest in Impressionism, for he produced paintings with colourful dotted brush strokes similar to the method of making ink paintings. Members wore black mantles with the Chinese character meaning “badness” and strolled through the centre of Tokyo in such a strange fashion (fig.5.37).⁴⁸ Their behaviour was like that of the “bohemian” artists.

From around 1920, Gyoshû pursued realistic expression with minute brushstrokes. His small works of still life showed his strong interest in the Chinese paintings of the Song and Yuan dynasties (fig. 5.38), which reflected “the new vogue of Chinese culture” that we have discussed in the previous chapter. He changed his style again in around 1928, exhibiting *Suitai Ryokushi* (*Gardens in the Early Summer*), which showed a new direction for exploring a constructive composition on a pair of gold screens. After absorbing various styles of art, he went to Rome in 1930 as an attendant of Yokoyama Taikan, the famous nationalist artist, as a member of a mission for an exhibition called *Esposizione d’Arte Giapponese* (The Japanese Art Exhibition), held at *Palazzo delle Esposizioni*. This was sponsored by Okura Kihachirô, a leader of the Okura

⁴⁷ Kuramoto, Taeko. *Hayami Gyoshu no Geijutsu* (*The Art of Hayami Gyoshû*), Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Shimbunsha, 1992, pp. 102-103.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

financial group. Though sponsored by a private company, the exhibition was linked with national policy, related to which Japan would make a military agreement with Italy in 1937.⁴⁹ Mussolini was invited to the opening ceremony and Emperor Emanuel III visited the exhibition. Around two hundred Japanese-style paintings by artists of *Teiten* and members of *Nihon Bijutsuin* group were sent to Rome, and *tokonoma* (a kind of alcove for decoration with pictures and flowers in Japanese architecture) were set up in galleries. Exhibitions of *nihon-ga* abroad were successively organised during this period, which provided artists with the opportunity to join committees with government officials.

Gyoshû, who had been working independent of governmental art policy became involved with nationalism after this experience. It is also worth noting that he had viewed major works of the Renaissance in Italy intensively, and travelled to France, Spain and England and returned to Japan via Egypt where he went sightseeing for ten days. When he came back to Japan, he realized the beauty of Japanese women just as Bakusen had upon his return to Japan. He wrote about this experience:

After returning from a trip to Europe, I found a special interest in the Japanese custom of sitting on the floor, to which I had previously been accustomed. Impressed by our habit that contrasted to the Europeans, who usually sit on chairs, I was compelled not only to depict such human figures but also wanted to express various sitting poses of Japanese.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ For details of this exhibition, see, Nihon Bijutsuin Hyakunenshi Henshûinkai ed., *Nihon Bijutsuin Hyakunenshi (One Hundred Histories of Nihon Bijutsuin)*, Tokyo: Nihon Bijutsuin, vol., 6, 1995, pp. 965-984, and Kusanagi, Natsuko. "1930-nen kaisai, Nihon Bijutsu-ten ni Kanshite" (On the Art Exhibition of Japanese Art Held in 1930), in *Kindai Gasetsu*, no. 11, Tokyo: Meiji Bijutsu Gakkai, 2002, pp. 127-140.

⁵⁰ Hayami, Gyoshû. "Seisaku Shinkyô: Zakyo no Shûsei" (My Interest in Making a Work: A Custom of Sitting), in *Binokuni*, Tokyo: Kôrakusha, vol. 7, no.9, September 1931, p.12, in the original Japanese is 「欧羅巴の旅行から帰つて特に今迄見馴れてゐた座る生活が、今更らに考へられた。欧州人の椅子の生活に対して座居する我々の習性に特殊な感銘を抱いたので、人物画を扱つて見度いといふ衝動ばかりでなく、特に座せる人のいろいろの姿態を表現したいと思つた。」

This was his explanation for a pair of paintings titled *On'na Nidai* (*Two Views of Women*) in 1931 (fig. 5.39), which he showed at the eighteenth *Inten* (an abbreviated word for *Saikô Nihon Bijutsu in Tenrankai*, which means the Revived Exhibition of *Nihon Bijutsu in*). Though he wrote that he wanted to express the Japanese custom of sitting on *tatami* or floor, his main interest seemed to be in the expression of the twisted movements of human bodies after he had seen European paintings. In this pair of paintings, Gyoshû showed only female images with no background. One of them showed a woman in summer kimono sitting in polite manner straightening her “obi” (sash) with her hands. The other depicted a woman setting her hair and showing bare arms. To express a typical Japanese lifestyle, the artist chose to show female bodies strained by kimono in unstable postures, which he gazed at as though he were a stranger. In the following year, he again worked on a female figure, titled *Hana no Katawara* (*Sitting beside Flowers*) (fig.5.40). It showed a young woman in a modern interior with a pet spitz and a vase full of dahlias. Her kimono had a broad stripe patterns that harmonised with the patterns on the backs of the chairs and the tablecloth. This image of a woman in kimono served to make a geometrical construction in the painting. Just as the *maiko* in *Bugi Rinsen* by Bakusen, a female figure is a vehicle for a male artist to communicate his idea.

Gyoshû was sent to Korea as a judge for *Senten* in May 1933, where he met Bakusen, and he toured historical places in Korea sketching ancient art and landscapes.⁵¹ However, when he produced a work to express his impression of Korea, he used exclusively female images. He exhibited a series of paintings titled *Seikyû Fujo Shô: Dôgi, Karupo, Syokuju, Kinutauchi and Harunigakusa* (*Abstracts of Women's Life in Korea: Child Kisaeng, Prostitutes, Weaving Woman, Woman Softening a Cloth, and Processing Herbs*) (fig. 5.41a) at the twentieth *Inten* in 1933. All of these images of women were represented in a small portion in a scene, and were displayed as if they were plates for a large

⁵¹ On his stay in Korea, see Tanabe, Kôji. “*Chôsen ni okeru Gyoshû-kun*” (Gyoshû in Korea), in *Binokuni*, Tokyo: Kôrakusha, vol.11, no.5, May 1935, p. 68.

emakimono (Hand scrolls with pictures) (fig. 5.41b). This calls to mind Fujishima's words of how he felt as if he was looking at a hand-scroll of around the twelfth century when looking at the scenery in Korea. *Karupo* was a derogatory term for a certain rank of *kisaeng* and they was shown in a modest traditional house. The male gaze on prostitutes in the colony is reflected in this title itself.⁵² The painting of the weaving woman was planned after Gyoshû had seen a picture of a woman weaving from the eighteenth century in Korea. He could sketch a woman who was actually weaving in the countryside of Gyeongju, where he went to see famous Seokguram Grotto.⁵³ This could be used to explain that he had discovered premodern life in Korea. All the scenes showed traditional female labourers in Korea, in which the artist expressed the thin women. He wrote,

When I went to Korea, it was the end of spring. This season is called *Shunkyû* (poor spring) in Korea as they become most skinny at this time from having eaten the stores of food but not yet received a new harvest. I did not know about such a thing until I went to Korea but I was able to visit there in the season when the most representative Korea could be seen.⁵⁴

Gyoshû visualised Korean female images as subalterns, who were poor and still lived traditional life. When we compare these female figures in Korea with his images of women in kimono in modern settings, the difference is very clear. At the following exhibition of the twenty-first *Inten* in 1934, Gyoshû tried to make a large work titled *Fujo Gunzô* (*A Group of Women*) (fig. 5.42), which was to be a kind of a *grande peinture* with composed figures. In this painting, Gyoshû tried to

⁵² Kim, Hyeshin, *Kankoku Kindai Bijutsu Kenkyû: Shokuminchiki 'Chôsen Bijutsu Tenrankai ni miru Ibunka Shihai to Bunka Hyôshô*, 2005, p. 102.

⁵³ Katô, Shôrin. "Hayami Sensei no Shasei" (Sketches by Mr. Hayami), in Kawakita, Michiaki. ed., *Hayami Gyoshû 1 (Hayami Gyoshû vol. 1)*, Tokyo: Gakushû Kenkyûsha, 1992, pp.175-177.

⁵⁴ Yamatane Museum of Art ed., *Kaiga no Shin Seimei: Hayami Gyoshû Garon (A Real Life in a Painting: Essays on Paintings by Hayami Gyoshû)*, Tokyo: Chûôkôron Bijutsu Shuppan, 1996, p.18. The original text in Japanese is: 「特に私が行きました時は春の末で、朝鮮では『春窮』といふ時ださうで、丁度食物を食べ終つて、新菜はまだ収穫のない間で、一番痩せる時ださうです。これは行つて初めて知つた事です、一番概念的な朝鮮らしい時だつたのです。」

represent modern Japanese women in kimono. Two sitting women may have been a variation of the *On'na Nidai*, which expressed a characteristic Japanese custom. A woman in the centre sitting on a chair resembled a young woman in *Hana no Katawara*, which may have represented modern life in contemporary Japan. Judging from the compilation of images of women in kimono that he had worked on, he planned a monumental work to symbolically express contemporary Japan as a mixture of modernism and tradition.

5.4 Uemura Shōen and her representation of “kimono beauty”

A discussion about female artist Uemura Shōen (1875-1949) is essential to an analysis on “kimono beauty” by *nihon-ga* artists. As we have discussed in chapter 3, she developed a new style of “kimono beauty” in the 1910s. Her works were regularly accepted by *Bunten* from the start in 1907 and she was viewed as a pioneer of female *nihon-ga* artists. A native of Kyoto, she began her study of *nihon-ga* after she graduated from primary school in 1887. Fortunate enough for her, she began her study early enough in Kyoto to have avoided the gendered educational system that was instituted under the Meiji government. This was also before the masculine camaraderie of art students was introduced in Japan. In the late nineteenth century in Japan, the literacy rate was high and wives and daughters of scholars enjoyed making ink paintings and practicing calligraphy.⁵⁵ Another female painter, Noguchi Shōhin (1847-1917), who was also mentioned in chapter 3, was one of the last examples of female painters trained under the pre-modern educational system but the first female artist to establish her fame under the Meiji government. Shōhin's fame derived from her success in the newly established exhibition system in Tokyo, and from her position as a private art teacher for female members of the imperial family. Though Shōhin painted mainly *Sansui-ga* (Chinese-style landscape paintings) and Shōen painted images of women exclusively, their careers had common

⁵⁵ Examples of female artists in the Edo period were examined in: Fister, Patricia. *Kinsei no Josei Gaka tachi* (Japanese Women Artists of the Kinsei Era), Kyoto: Shibunkaku, 1994.

elements. Both women needed to support their families by painting, both attained success by sending their works to public exhibitions held by the government and both had female patrons, including the Taishô Empress in Shôen's case. Shôhin was the first female painter to be nominated as a *Teishitsu Gigei-in* (Court Artist to the Imperial Court) and Shôen was the second. Thus, Shôen had lived a very different life from her male contemporaries and she continued producing images of beautiful women throughout her life. However, if we examine her career after the 1930s, it will be clear that she was not free from nationalism of the period.

In the 1910s and 1920s, the number of female *nihon-ga* painters had increased and they showed *bijin-ga* (pictures of beautiful women) at *Bunten* and *Teiten*. The activities of younger artists attracted eyes of critics and works by Shôen gradually became less prominent among them. Ikeda Shôen, whom we have discussed in relation to images of beautiful women by Okada Saburôsuke in chapter 3, had good reputation for her sweet and girlish face. Shima Seien depicted casual life in Osaka and her works were regularly exhibited at *Bunten* after 1912. *Matsuri no Yosooi* (*Dressing Up for a Festival*) in 1913 expressed inner conflicts between rich and poor girls in Osaka in a day of a festival (fig. 5.43). Shôen did not hide her irritation with these rivals. In a magazine article of 1920, she was reported to have remarked as follows;

Nowadays 'Woman Painter' has become a kind of fashion. Everyone is so boasting about herself and is falling into ecstasy, that no one would be able to build her own sanctuary of the fine arts. (...) Newspapers and magazines irresponsibly praise them and show their unskilful works in photographs and make their heads swell. I cannot find any trace of originalities in works by such young women nowadays, maybe because they have become painters so thoughtlessly.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ Uemura, Shôen. "*Raidôsei ni Tomu Gendai Joryûgaka*" (Thoughtless Female Contemporary Artists), in

She even complained that young artists had emulated her name by taking names ending with “-en.”

She struggled to produce new images of beautiful women in *Hanagatami* (*A Flower Basket*) (fig. 5.44), which was exhibited at the ninth *Bunten* in 1915. This work showed an insane woman, who was a character in a *Noh* play. In this picture, the artist's aim is obviously to give a detailed depiction of a court lady's kimono in the middle ages. She realistically reproduced the texture of the kimono's semitransparent cloth inner layer. This was expressed so delicately that her technique cannot be discerned by a viewing a photographic reproduction. However, the ninth *Bunten* became notorious for showing too many *bijin-ga*, and her work was not commented on much in the magazine reviews of *Bunten*. She showed again an insane woman out of jealousy in the next *Bunten* who was also a character in a *Noh* play titled *Hono'o* (*Frame*) (fig. 5.45), and later recalled that she was in a slump at that time.⁵⁷

She produced an image of a Chinese woman at *Teiten* in 1922 (fig. 5.46), which showed *Yôkihi* (*Yang Guifei*) wearing a phoenix hair ornament in the same manner as the work by Okyo on the same subject (fig. 4.21). Eroticised images of *Yôkihi* may reflect her quick response to the vogue of Chinese culture under Japanese imperialism. In this picture, Shôen attempted a highly difficult expression to show the image of a girl and furniture seen through a semitransparent screen on the left while bamboo leaves are seen through bamboo blinds in the background. Shôen repeatedly used this technique of showing something through bamboo blinds in her painting, including in a set of paintings for the the Taishô Empress (fig. 5.47). Research on kimono at the

Kawakita, Michiaki; Baba, Kyôko. eds., *Seibishô, Seibishô-shûi*, Tokyo: Kôdansha, 1987, pp. 179-180. The original text in Japanese is: 「いったい現代では『女絵かき』が一種の流行になっているのではないかと思います。みんなで成り上がってしまって、自分勝手に踊り狂っているのですから、自ら開拓して芸術の殿堂を建立しようなんてことはとても覚つかないことであります。(中略) 私は思いますに、これは新聞や雑誌が無頓着にも誰れ彼れとなしに持ち上げて、その貧しい作品を載せたり写真を掲げたりするものでありますから、地方の若い人々の心がそそり立っているのです。現代の若い作家がそんな浮いた心で絵かきになったものか、とんと独創に閃く作品は見ることは出来ません。」

⁵⁷ Uemura, Shôen. *Seibishô* (*Memories of Blue Eyebrows*), Kyoto: Rikûôshoin, 1943, p.152.

court in the middle ages for *Hanagatami* was applied to these paintings for the court. Shōen was asked to paint before the Taishō Empress in 1916, and was commissioned to create these paintings at that time, though she was unable to finish them until 1937. She received a commission from the court in 1928 to create a painting to celebrate the enthronement of the Shōwa Emperor. She had also been asked to make a screen as a bride's household effect for Tokugawa Kikuko, daughter of the last shogun of the Tokugawa shogunate, who married Prince Takamatu in 1933. In this period, successive exhibitions of Japanese art abroad were held in Paris (1929), Rome (1930), Berlin (1931), a travelling exhibit in the United States (1931) and Thailand (1931). The reasons and organisers for these exhibitions were different, but they can all be considered as part of Japanese foreign diplomacy in a broad sense.⁵⁸ Through participation in these exhibitions and through her connection with the imperial family, Shōen must have been gradually become regarded as an important artist by the government.

The Ministry of Education and Culture decided to reorganise *Teiten* in 1935, which caused great confusion among artists. On 26 February 1936, the so-called 2-26 Incident took place and Ministers were attacked in a coup d'état by young military authorities. After a new cabinet was created, the government resumed *Bunten*; these subsequent exhibitions are known as *Shin-Bunten* (New *Bunten*). For the special exhibition of *Shin-Bunten*, Shōen exhibited a huge picture that was purchased by the government titled *Jo-no-mai* (*Dance Performed in a Noh Play*) (fig. 5.48). She continued sending her works to *Shin-Bunten* every year and these works have been regarded as the most important of her career. Her fame reached its peak when she was appointed as Teikoku Bijutsuin Kaiin (a Member of the Imperial Academy) in July 1941. Magazines printed special issues about her with illustrations and critics hastened to compose celebratory essays. Kanzaki Kenichi, a leading art critic in Kyoto, conceded that her images of beautiful women seemed too meticulous and stiff to

⁵⁸ On the exhibitions in Berlin and in the United States, see, Nihon Bijutsuin Hyakunenshi Henshūinkai ed., *Nihon Bijutsuin Hyakunenshi*, Tokyo: Nihon Bijutsuin, 1995 pp. 987-1007.

express the beauty of woman. However, he continued as follows:

Her works show us clearly that we should abandon former views on “beauty” and on women in order to catch up with new ideas about women or women’s life, which has been recently formed in the period of Japanese people needing to change their minds in the wake of the Incident. In fact, women need to have, or are urged to have, a strong will to cooperate with or compete with men instead of being indulged by men. What a great number of women have lost their sons, husbands and fathers! When we think how dramatically these women were made to change their outlook on life, we should admit that we are not allowed to follow conservative ideas about women, about beauty and about the images of beautiful women.⁵⁹

This comment seems to be a strained interpretation of Shōen’s art, and he seems to be reacting to previous critiques of her works. However, praise like this became common and she was regarded as a strong woman and a painter who represented strong women.

In the autumn of the same year, she was asked to make a consolation visit to China by *Kachūtetsudō* (Railroad Company in Middle China), which she did at the age of sixty-six. The company was primarily managed by the Japanese army after Japan had occupied the district around Shanghai and Hangzhou during the war. Shōen was greeted at the Japanese army headquarters and by Wang Zhao Ming, the representative of a puppet government under Japanese occupation. Photographs of this event were issued in an art magazine titled *Kokuga* (*National Painting*), in an issue devoted to Shōen showing her works with plates

⁵⁹ Kanzaki, Kenichi. “Uemura Shōen Joshi no Geijutsuin Kaiin Honin” (An Appointment of Uemura Shōen as a Member of the Imperial Academy), in *Tōei*, June 1941, p. 69. The original text is: 「最近事変の勃発以後に於ける日本の国民思想転換期に際して現はれ来つた婦人観、乃至婦人の人生観の如きは、今迄の所謂美人観や婦人観から出直したものでなければならぬ事をまざまざと教へるものがある。即ち、意志を強固にして、男性の玩弄物的地位から其共同者的乃至時には其競争者的位置に立たされ、又立たねばやつて行けなくなつて来てる。息子を、夫を、父を失つた婦人のいかに沢山ある事か。そして其人達の人生観がいかに変化せられざるを得なくなつた事を思へば、夫等を傍観する国民の婦人観美人観乃至美人画観にしても慣習的なものの踏襲のみが許されなくなつて行くのは当然でなければならない。」

(fig. 5. 49).⁶⁰ Her biography titled *Seibishô* (*Memories of Blue Eyebrows*) was published in 1943 (fig. 5.50),⁶¹ at a time when publishing was strictly restricted by the government to save resources for the Pacific War. Shôen never married and was a single mother. Her father had died before she was born, and she was brought up by her mother who ran a green tea shop. Shôen later supported her mother and son by selling her pictures. Single motherhood was frowned upon by Japanese society at that time, but the book never mentions this topic. Instead, Shôen's mother was praised as wise mother. Shôen herself was also presented as another wise mother to her son. The front page of the book bears a title letter and an illustration by her son, Uemura Shôkô, who was active as a *nihon-ga* artist. This is printed on a coarse paper and contains some plates of representative works by Shôen. The first plate showed *Boshi* (*Mother and a Child*) (fig. 5. 51) in 1914, and the essays started with one on a memory of her mother. The book ends with her essay on her consolation visit to China, and there was an afterword by her son as well. In short, this book focused on motherhood. It introduced two eminent working mothers who brought up their children in fatherless families. Considering Kanzaki's previously cited comments, it is clear that Shôen was celebrated as a good model at a time when the number of fatherless families was increasing because of the war. Women needed to work to give logistic support for the war while their husbands were off fighting, all while bringing up children who would be future soldiers.

We should now return to an examination of *Jo-no-mai*. Shôen explained only briefly that it was her ideal image of a woman who had "imperturbable dignity, but was also graceful and behaved resolutely."⁶² What exactly this meant was not clear, but certainly this work does not simply show a "kimono beauty" but conveys us something strict and tense. This work depicts a scene from the *Noh* play *Shimai*, which was a short, informal performance danced by single

⁶⁰ *Kokuga*, April 1942, Tokyo: Tôeisha.

⁶¹ Uemura, Shôen. *Seibishô*, 1943.

⁶² Uemura, Shôen. *Seibishô*, 1943, p. 153.

performer without a mask. *Jo-no-mai* is performed by a dancer who plays the role of a spirit. However, *Shimai* is usually performed in kimono with *hakama*, as shown in another work of the same title by Yamakawa Shûhō (fig. 5. 52). Shōen did not provide any reason for her depiction of gorgeous kimono but did write that she took care not be confused with *butō* (dance) or Western-style dance.⁶³ As we have already discussed with regard to “kimono beauties” by Bakusen and Gyoshû, comparing their images of Korean woman, we will be able to examine *Jo-no-mai* by contrasting it to other paintings of *butō* and Western-style dance. In fact, dance was a radical topic in modern Japanese art. Mizusawa Tsutomu pointed out that avant-garde artists in Tokyo such as Yorozu Tetsugorō had been interested in Western-style modern dance in the 1910s, which served to awaken physical consciousness against the ideas they had acquired in their academic art training.⁶⁴ In the 1920s, expressionism dance in Germany was introduced in Japan when Murayama Tomoyoshi and Saitō Kazō introduced *Noeu Tanz* after their study on art in Berlin. Additionally, Kume Tamijūrō went to England and was associated with Ezra Pound and W.B. Yeats, whom he helped to make a performance titled “At the Hawk’s Well” (1916), which was inspired by Japanese *Noh* theatre. Omuka Toshiharu argued that Kume recognised his cultural identity by finding his “culture of the body” by *Noh*, which Kume had performed from his childhood.⁶⁵ The example of Kume reveals that the reception of avant-garde art and modern dance was related to traditional dance.

Sai shō-ki (Choi Seung-Hee), a Korean dancer (1911-1969) experienced great popularity in Japan in the 1930s (fig. 5.53 and fig. 5.54). She learned modern dance from Ishii Baku in Tokyo and mixed this style with Korean traditional dance. In Korea, *kisaeng* originally entertained men with dancing and

⁶³ Uemura, Shōen. “*Shimai, Yōkyoku nado*” (*Shimai and Yōkyoku, etc.*), in Kawakita, Michiaki; Baba, Kyōko. eds., *Seibishō, Seibishō-shûi*, 1987, p. 161.

⁶⁴ Mizusawa, Tsutomu. “The Artists Start to Dance”, in *Being Modern in Japan: Culture and Society from the 1910s to the 1930s*, Tipton, Elise K. ; Clark, John. eds., Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 2000, pp. 14-24.

⁶⁵ Omuka, Toshiharu. “*Kume Tamijūrō to Shintai Bunka*” (*Tamijūrō Kume and Culture of Body*), in Kimura, Rieko. ed., *Dansu! Nijū-seiki Shotō no Bijutsu to Butō (Dance in Japanese Modern Art)*, Utsunomiya: Tochigi Prefectural Museum of Fine Arts, 2003, pp. 155-166.

music, and Japanese and Korean artists depicted them in paintings under Japanese occupation (fig. 5.55 and fig. 5.56). The popularity of Sai shô-ki, which was not limited among the avant-garde culture, must have been related to the gaze of male Japanese on Korean dancing women. Though the picture does not exist, there is a photograph of Yasui Sôtarô working on her portrait.⁶⁶ Kimura Rieko pointed out that dance by Sai was gazed by male Japanese with sexual interests and Sai needed to produce not only modern dance but also *Chôsen Butô* (Korean dance) for Japanese audience.⁶⁷ Though she danced it as expression of her identity, she was always gazed as “other” in Japan. When we consider the increasing interest in dance in Japan in the 1930s, we will be able to understand Shôen’s explanation about *Jo-no-mai* that she did not want it to be confused as *butô* (dance) or Western-style dance. The reason the woman in *Jo-no-mai* wears a gorgeous kimono must have been to unambiguously demonstrate the “Japaneseness” of the image. The *obi* (sash) is made of gold textile and had embroidered phoenix patterns which is interesting because Chinese legend holds that the phoenix appears when the emperor is virtuous. The rainbow pattern on the cloud on the kimono is *zuiun* (cloud of fortune), which is said to be an auspicious sign. When viewed in contrast with a painting of Korean and modern dance, the message of *Jo-no-mai* becomes apparent. Here, the artist expressed her resolution to be a representative artist of the Japanese Empire, against which she could not resist. If this explanation is correct, we are able to find the impact of *Jo-no-mai* in a painting by a pro-Japanese Korean painter, Sim Honggu, titled *Senfuku (Costume for the Battle Dance)* (fig. 5.57). This work was exhibited at the seventeenth *Sen-ten* in 1938. It showed a woman in a traditional Korean costume that was used in dances depicting battle scenes.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ The photograph is reproduced in the following exhibition catalogue,

⁶⁷ Kimura, Rieko. “*Sai shô ki no Chôsen Butô o Megutte*” (On Korean Dance by Choi Seung-Hee), in A report of a research project for *kagaku kenkyû-hi* (researches supported by the Japanese Government) headed by Nagata, Ken’ichi, titled *Nijûseiki ni Okeru Sensô to Hyôshô / Geijutsu: Tenji, Eizô, Insatsu Purodakutsu*, March 2005, pp. 112-123.

⁶⁸ Kim, Hyeshin. “Images of Women during the Korean Colonial Period”, in Mostow, Josua S.; Bryson,

Shôen exhibited *Kinuta (A Block for Beating Cloth)* (fig. 5.58) in 1937 at the second *Shin Bun-ten*. Its title refers to a *Noh* play of around the sixteenth century. Its heroine waits for her absent husband to return home for three years. She was informed of an old story in China about a wife who made sounds by *kinuta* missing her husband who was imprisoned by enemies in a far-away place. Shôen must have related this story with Japanese wives who sent their husbands to war. In April 1937, the National Mobilisation Law was enacted and all Japanese people was urged to obey any orders made by the government for military purposes. In the second *Shin Bun-ten*, another important artist, Yasuda Yukihiro, showed a work expressing the war regime, which resonated with the old Chinese story. This was titled *Sonshi Rokukihei (Sun Tzu Training Court Ladies)* (fig. 5.59). The story is on an episode in the life of Sun Tzu, who is said to be the author of the sixth-century BC work, *The Art of War*. The king asked Sun Tzu if he could control women using his principles of war. He tried to train court ladies in the inner palace, but a favourite of the king refused his command. Sun Tzu killed her and made the rest of ladies obey him, whereupon the king praised Sun. This story readily reveals the morale of the war regime in Japan at that time.

Shôen preferred to create images set in the past. After she published *Seibishô*, the married women shown in her paintings such as *Yûgre (Evening Dusk)* (fig. 5.60) and *Banshû (Late Autumn)* (fig. 5.61) have been mostly understood as reflections of the images of Shôen's mother. However, a woman threading a needle in the faint light outside in *Yûgre* could be seen as a woman who kept working without turning on lights to save energy for the war effort. In *Banshû*, a woman is mending a paper screen. This work was painted for *Senji Bunka Hatsuyô Kansai Hôga Tenrankai (Nihon-ga Exhibition of Artists from Kansai Cities to Promote Culture during Wartime)*, which was organised by Asahi Shimbun-sha in 1943. The fees for painters in addition to all other

exhibition costs were donated by the Sumitomo family and works were donated to the Osaka City Museum of Art after they were shown in Osaka, Kyoto and Tokyo. Nakamura Daizaburô showed a portrait of General Yamamoto, a Japanese military hero, and Hashimoto Kansetsu represented a Japanese soldier in the southern landscape holding a box of remains of the war dead. Most of the paintings showed subjects related to war or nationalistic themes, such as cherry blossoms. Shôen's work could be an image of her mother but also the image of a wise housewife who sacrificed to survive a shortage of resources.

After their military defeat on 15 August 1945, Japan was under the control of the Allied Powers until the Treaty of Peace with Japan came into effect on 28 April 1952. Under this control, the equality of both sexes was written into the new Constitution of Japan. The Tokyo School of Fine Arts began to accept female students in 1946, and since its revival as Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music in 1949, it always been a coeducational university. The decoration of Uemura Shôen with the Order of Cultural Merit as the first female recipient of this honour in 1948 was a symbolic event and a testament to the improvement of the female position in Japanese society. Shôen attained new fame in post-war Japan as a pioneer of successful women, and later as a pioneer of successful single mothers. Her images of "kimono beauties" cannot escape the categorisation as "kimono beauty imperialism."

5.5 Images of Taiwan by Japanese artists and Taiwanese artists

Following the analysis on images of Korean and Chinese women that has been done in previous parts of my thesis, the issues related to another Japanese colony need to be discussed in this section. Taiwan was colonised by the Japanese government in 1895. Japanese painters visited Taiwan to paint "exotic beauty" in the Taiwanese landscape. As Watanabe Toshio and Liao Hsin-tien (Liao Xintian) discuss in detail in their articles,⁶⁹ Japanese painters who studied

⁶⁹ Watanabe, Toshio. "Japanese Landscape Painting and Taiwan: Modernity, colonialism and national identity", and Liao Hsin-tien (Liao Xintian). "The Beauty of the Untamed: Adventure and Travel in Colonial

in England and France, such as Ishikawa Kinichirô, Kawashima Riichirô and Miyake Kokki compared Taiwanese scenery to that of Rome and southern Italy.

Ishikawa Kinichirô (1871-1945) first visited Taiwan in 1907, and his watercolours exhibited in Taiwan had a strong impact on the young Taiwanese artists. Ishikawa later taught art in *Taipei Shihan Gakkô* (Taipei Normal School) and promoted the use of watercolour in Taiwan. Ishikawa wrote in 1926 that the Italian landscape resembled that of Taiwan. As common points between Italy and Taiwan, he gave examples such as red roofs covering big houses, laundry hung across narrow streets and children with bare feet playing in the streets.⁷⁰ Kawashima Riichirô (1886-1971) compared the landscape in southern Taiwan to Spain and Italy in his essay in 1929. An old ruin in Anping in Tainan reminded him of the ancient port of Ostia in Rome.⁷¹ As Taiwan is actually situated to the south of Japan, Taiwan more readily lent itself to this comparison with Italy than Korea. However, Taiwan was not a nation in the same sense because it had been developed by Europeans and immigrants mainly from south China. Thus, the Japanese did not find their own “past” there as they had in Korea. The Taiwanese landscape was simply regarded as the less modernised “south,” just as Italy was in the south of Europe. The majority of the residents of Taiwan had their origin in south China and they took part in the modernisation of Taiwan under Japanese officers, while an aboriginal minority lived in the mountains and along the coast. The Japanese found it easier to find the image of a “Southern colony” in the local landscape and aboriginal peoples in Taiwan than among the people of Chinese origin living in cities.

Fujishima visited Taiwan in 1933 to sketch a sunrise in *Niitaka-yama* (Yu shan) and went to there again in 1934 and 1935. He also found a landscape that included water buffaloes and peasant women dressed in black, which looked like

Taiwanese Landscape Painting”. They will be printed in Kikuchi, Yuko. ed., *Refracted Modernity: Visual Culture and Identity in Colonial Taiwan*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

⁷⁰Yen, Chuan-ying. ed., *Fengjing Xinjing: Taiwan Jindai Meishu Wenxian Daodu (Landscape Moods: Selected Readings in Modern Taiwanese Art)*, vol.2, Taipei: Xiongshi Meishu, 2001, p.46.

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 107..

the Roman countryside.⁷² The landscape he painted contained ancient architecture and aboriginal women as his subjects. During this time, visiting the Confucian temple in Tainan and the villages of aboriginal people had become typical entertainments for Japanese tourists (fig. 5.62). It is clear that he represented aboriginal women in Taiwan as “other” through colour and clothes (fig. 5.63). Although he had been able to find images that reminded him of Japan’s “past” in the Korean women and landscape, what he found in Taiwan gave him more of an impression of the “exotic south.”

One of the most influential oil painters who worked in Taiwan was Shiotsuki Tôho (1886-1954). After he graduated from the Tokyo School of Fine Arts, he settled in Taipei in 1921 as an art instructor. He found aboriginal women for most of his subjects in Taiwan. He exhibited a painting titled *Yama no On’na* (*Woman Living in Mountains*) (fig. 5.64) at the first *Taiten* (an abbreviation for *Taiwan Bijutsu Tenrankai*, or Taiwan Art Exhibition), which was established under Japanese colonial policy in 1927. Shiotsuki attended this event as a member of the judges panel. His work depicted an aboriginal girl sitting on a tree stump. One critic wrote that the image of an uncivilized girl painted in such an untamed nature in the mountains seemed to express her virginity.⁷³ The critic thus makes explicit the perceived link between “primitive” nature and virginity. Shiotsuki exhibited a painting called *Taiyaru no On’na* (*A Woman of the Atayal Tribe*) (fig. 5.65) and *Musumera* (*Girls*) at the seventh *Taiten* in 1933. An anonymous critic described these paintings in a newspaper as follows:

In a dark aboriginal house, a dark healthy woman lies in a prone position on a bamboo bench covered with blue aboriginal cloth, staring at us. Her eyes sparkle in a lively manner. An aboriginal cloth in red is on the wall and an old pot is on a shelf. Their vivid colours attract our eyes. (...) “*Girls*” shows two aboriginal girls whispering each other affectionately. This painting illustrates

⁷² Ibid., p. 135.

⁷³ Ibid., p. 243.

the purity of the aboriginal girls and the beauty of their textile.⁷⁴

In these paintings, aboriginal girls are depicted as “other” through colour—a bamboo bench and folk textiles support its “exoticism”, with which they were appreciated by a Japanese critic. This painting immediately reminds us of a famous work by Paul Gauguin titled *Mana'o Tupapa'u (The Spectre Watches Over Her)* in 1892 (fig. 5.66). The association with Gauguin is not a total coincidence, because Shiotsuki was in fact sometimes described by critics as “Gauguin in Taiwan”⁷⁵ and it has been commented that he discovered an “ancient and mythical world” in the life of aborigines.⁷⁶

Yen Chuan-ying (Yan Juanying) argued that Shiotsuki must have foreseen the decay of aboriginal culture and the ethnic identity that was going to be destroyed by the Japanese occupation.⁷⁷ Nakamura Giichi argued that Shiotsuki resisted Japanese colonial policy by exhibiting works of aboriginal subjects.⁷⁸ However, when we consider the fact that Shiotsuki mainly portrayed young aboriginal women in their traditional costume and not male figures, it is clear that there existed an actual structure of power in which the male Japanese painter dominated the female model from a colonised people. Shiotsuki used bold brush strokes and painting knives to form his images of aboriginal women, and we cannot identify the individuality of each of the models. They seem to represent the images of the Southern colony as gazed on by male rulers.

In the case of Taiwanese artists of Chinese origin who studied in Tokyo, the situation was more complex. Huang Tu-shui (1895-1930), who studied sculpture

⁷⁴ Ibid., pp. 276-277. Original Text in Japanese is: 「薄暗い蕃屋、青い蕃布を敷いた竹の床机の上に黒褐色の健康な女がうつ伏してこちらを凝視をしてゐる、その眼は生き生きと鋭く輝いてゐる、女の上には壁に赤い蕃布がかかり、櫓（筆者註：棚の誤植か？）には古い壺、眼を惑（筆者註：惹の誤植か？）きつける色がある。（中略）『娘ら』は二人の蕃人の娘がその親愛さをささやいてゐる。ここには蕃娘の純真と蕃布の美しさを描いてゐる。」

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 439.

⁷⁶ Ibid., pp. 92-96.

⁷⁷ Ibid., pp. 410-411.

⁷⁸ Nakamura, Giichi. “Ishikawa Kinichirô to Shiotsuki Tôho, Nihon Kindai Bijutsushi ni okeru Shokuminchi Bijutsu no Mondai” (Ishikawa Kin'ichirô and Shiotsuki Tôho: Modern Japanese Art and Colonial Scene), in *Bulletin of Kyoto University of Education*, Kyoto: Kyoto University of Education, no. 76, March, 1990, pp. 177-193.

at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts, felt unhappy because most Japanese looked down on Taiwan as too hot a climate and the aboriginal people as too ready to attack Japanese. On the other hand, he saw that Taiwan had a beautiful countryside but no artistic tradition of its own, only local crafts of Chinese origin.⁷⁹ He absorbed the Western manner of art education at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts, and gazed at the culture of his home from the same perspective as Japanese artists. His work titled *Shaka Shutsuzan (Buddha Descending the Mountain after Asceticism, 1927)* (fig. 5.67) is a good example of what he had learned at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts. He made this sculpture of Buddha based on a Chinese ink painting of the same subject by Liang Kai titled *Shussan Shaka zu (Buddha Descending the Mountain after Asceticism)* in the thirteenth century (fig. 5.68). Ink paintings by Liang Kai has been admired in Japan from the fifteenth century, and this particular work by Liang was one of the most highly esteemed Chinese paintings in Japan. However, in the Chinese context, Liang Kai is not an eminent painter at all. Though Huang was born into a family of Chinese origin, he followed the Japanese art criteria as an artist trained in Tokyo. His sculptures of female nudes accepted in *Teiten* revealed that he must have joined the studio fraternity in the art school. They were *Kanro-sui (The Nude with Sweet Dew)* in 1921 (fig. 5.69) and *Pôzu seru Onna (A Model)* in 1922 (fig. 5.70). The model for the latter work stood naked hiding her face with her arms, a pose that resembles Phryné in a painting titled *Phryné before the Areopagus* (1861, Hamburger Kunsthalle, Hamburg) by Jean-Léon Gérôme (fig. 5.71). As the episode of Phryné and its representation by Gérôme clearly illustrates the dominance of male gaze on a female nude, it could be said that Huang's work reflected such male-centred gaze as well that Huang learned at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts. We have seen in chapter one that young Japanese artists like Kuroda Seiki and Kume Keiichirô could enter the masculine camaraderie in the atelier in France and made friends with English and American students. Now,

⁷⁹ Yen, Chuan-ying, ed., *Fengjing Xinjing: Taiwan Jindai Meishu Wenxian Daodu (Landscape Moods: Selected Readings in Modern Taiwanese Art)*, vol.2, 2001, pp. 168-173.

a student from Japanese colony could enter the masculine camaraderie in the atelier in Tokyo by making sculptures of naked bodies of Japanese women and did succeed in *Teiten*. It must have assured Huang that he could become a proper member of modern Japanese society.

However, except for these works, Huang mainly worked on subjects of Taiwanese boys and water buffalo in Taiwanese natural settings. For example, he showed *Sandô Suiteki* (*Aboriginal Boy Playing the Flute*) when he first accepted for the second *Teiten* in 1920 (fig. 5. 72) and *Kôgai* (*Outskirts*), a sculpture of a water buffalo, for the fifth *Teiten* in 1924. Huang made a sculpture of water buffalos commissioned by the government office of *Taipei-shû* (Taipei Province) to offer to the Shôwa Emperor in commemoration of his enthronement in 1928. They could be explained that he tried to express the “local colour”⁸⁰ that Japanese artists expected in artworks from the colonies as his reflection of Japanese eyes gazing on Taiwan as “exotic.” However, this could also be understood that he intended to express his identity as a Taiwanese artist expressing beauty of Taiwan. A discussion on paintings of *kisaeng* by Korean artists by Kim Youngna sheds some light on how to analyse Huang’s choice of Taiwanese subjects.⁸¹ Kim pointed out that just like Japanese artists who produced numerous paintings of *kisaeng* under the gaze of colonisers, Korean artists also painted *kisaeng*. Kim suggested that there could be different explanations: these Korean artists “imitated Japanese works and identified with them by painting similar subjects” or they “tried to overcome colonialism by depicting the Korean *kisaeng* in a different and more lively fashion.” She concluded that “the subject was something exotic for Japanese artists, but something familiar for Koreans.” In any case, the most important point is that “they were painted by males as objects to be viewed by males.” Though boys and water buffalo were not expressed as sexual objects like *kisaeng*, they were a subject that was “something exotic for Japanese artists, but something

⁸⁰ Its original word in Japanese is: 「郷土色」.

⁸¹ Kim, Youngna. *20th Century Korean Art*, London: Laurence King Publishing Ltd., 2005, pp. 116-121.

familiar” for Taiwanese as well. Kim discussed that pursuit of “local colour” could be an alternative for Korean painters to express their identity and nationalism, but they were also restrained under colonisation by Japan by “self-Orientalising.”. In Huang’s case, one can also see these conflicting aspects as well. Hsueh, Yen-ling, who used the words “Regional Flavour” instead of “local colour” in his essay, pointed out that Taiwanese artists including Huang at the time understood “the hazy identity image of themselves through the guidance of the autocratic governing power,” so they used images of aborigines both typical symbol of Taiwan for Japanese but also familiar with themselves.⁸² He could express his identity as a Taiwanese by painting local subjects but they must have been received by Japanese as depictions of the “exotic” south.

Analysis of works by the female Taiwanese painter Chen Jin (1907-98) reveals a much more complex gaze cast upon images of Taiwanese women and ambiguous identity. Chen Jin was the most successful female artist under the Japanese occupation. She was born to a wealthy family in Hsinchu (Xinzhu) and studied at Taipei *Daisan Kôtô Jogakkô* (Taipei Third Girls’ High School). Under Japanese occupation, the number of female students who went to school gradually increased. In the 1920s, three public high schools, including Taipei Third Girls’ High School, accepted Taiwanese girls and daughters of modernised intellectual families, who studied hard to enter these schools. As Hung Yuru examined in detail in her work on the history of Taiwanese women under Japanese occupation, entrance to high school for Taiwanese women confirmed a privileged status on them because only the very wealthy Taiwanese elite could afford to send their daughters to high school. Students proudly wore Western-style uniforms, just as Japanese *jogakusei* (female students) did, and studied various subjects, including music, art, tea ceremony, sewing and sports.⁸³ High schools for women in Taiwan made much more of cultural learning

⁸² Hsueh, Yen-ling. “The ‘Regional Flavor’ of Art in Taiwan During the Japanese Colonial Era,” in *The ‘Regional Flavor’ of Art in Taiwan During the Japanese Colonial Era*, Taichung: National Taiwan Museum of Fine Arts, 2004, p. 58-60.

⁸³ Hung, Yuru. *Kindai Taiwan Joseishi: Nihon no Shokumin Tôchi to ‘Shin Josei’ no Tanjô* (History of

than academic study and students were guided in how to be good wives for the Taiwanese elite.⁸⁴ Hung argues that the high school education of women aimed at having them assimilate to Japanese culture, which caused an identity crisis among the students because they had to realize that they were still the colonised even though they tried to behave like Japanese.⁸⁵

After Chen Jin learned Japanese-style painting at the Taipei Third Girls' High School, she continued to study at *Joshi Bijutsu Gakkō* (Tokyo Women's Art School) in Tokyo. Since The Tokyo School of Fine Arts was only open to male students, it was the best way for woman to study painting. She was at *Taiten*, which was an abbreviation for Japanese word *Taiwan Bijutsu Tenrankai* (Taiwan Art Exhibition) that was established in 1927 under Japanese colonial policy just as *Chōsen Bijutsu Tenrankai*. In her early works, she used realism to depict women in kimono. For example, *Mikan* (A Satuma, fig. 5.73), which was shown at the second *Taiten* in 1928, represented a woman wearing a fine kimono. The subject seems to be a visitor at someone's house and is elegantly eating a fruit. In this painting, Chen Jin showed perfect Japanese-style painting skills and represented quite a "Japanese" subject: a woman in kimono sitting properly in the Japanese manner. When this painting was shown at the *Taiten*, it may have been a good example for Japanese officers, illustrating how Taiwanese people had learned Japanese culture. Chen depicted a young woman sewing a kimono for the forth *Taiten*. In addition to the model for the pictures, Chen Jin herself was also "a woman in kimono" as viewed by the Japanese. Photographic portraits of Chen showed her neatly wearing kimono (fig. 5.74), which testified to the results of receiving an education at the Taipei Third Girls' High School.

However, Chen Jin gradually began to express "local colour" as a Taiwanese artist. In 1932, she was nominated to be one of the judges at the sixth *Taiten*, and exhibited a painting titled *Shiran no Kaori* (Fragrance of Orchid)

Modern Taiwanese Women: Japanese colonial policy and the birth of a 'New Woman', Tokyo: Keisō Shobō, 2002, pp. 151-171.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 168-170.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 171-181.

(fig. 5.75), which depicted a bride in traditional Taiwanese wedding attire. Chen appears to have assimilated to the way Japanese viewed traditional Taiwanese culture. In 1934, Chen exhibited *Gassô* (Ensemble) at the fifteenth *Teiten* (fig. 5.76) for the first time. She sent another work, *Keshô* (Toilette), which again depicted two Taiwanese women in their private room with Taiwanese furniture, to the last *Teiten* held in the spring of 1936 (fig. 5.77). Chen elaborately represented a decorated Chinese-style screen and elegant Chinese dress with embroidery.

To return to *Gassô*, Chen depicted two women in modern Chinese dress sitting on Taiwanese furniture playing a Chinese flute and a *gekkin* (Chinese guitar). As previously discussed in this chapter, instruments like *gekkin* were gradually abandoned by modern artists. Japanese artists who visited the colonies found the sound of these instruments played by women at nightclubs, as has been discussed with regard to Umehara Ryûzaburô. Fujishima also enjoyed the sight of a woman playing the Chinese lute in Tainan⁸⁶ and sketched her. Lai Ming-chu (Lai Mingzhu) argues that Chen Jin chose to express “local colour” in paintings of modern Taiwanese women as an expression of her Taiwanese identity.⁸⁷ However, when the Japanese audience looked at Chen Jin’s *Gassô* at the *Teiten* exhibition in Tokyo, they could easily find a kind of “exoticism” in the images of women in Chinese dress playing Chinese instruments. In these works, the strong sense of human existence, which Chen had been capable of presenting in her previous work, *Mikan*, is absent. Instead, expensive ebony furniture, luxurious women’s accessories were elaborately depicted and Japanese audiences could enjoy looking into the private lives of “exotic” and beautiful young women from rich Taiwanese families. Another work, titled *Yûkan* (*Leisurely*) (fig. 5.78), in 1935 was not shown at *Teiten* nor *Taiten*,

⁸⁶ “*Shin Teiten: Fujishima Takeji*” (New *Teiten*: Fujishima Takeji), in *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun* (Tokyo Asahi Newspaper), 26 June 1935.

⁸⁷ Lai, Ming-chu (Lai, Mingzhu). “Images of Women by Taiwanese Female Artists under Japanese Rule: Modernity, Power, and Gender”, in Kikuchi, Yuko, ed., *Refracted Modernity: Visual Culture and Identity in Colonial Taiwan*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press (forthcoming).

but is a large work with minute brushstrokes. Though the woman is not expressed in much sexualised manner, the image of her lying on a bed of rosewood in a private room of a wealthy Taiwanese family could have satisfied the voyeuristic gaze of the Japanese audience as well as *Keshô*.

Chen Jin travelled to south Taiwan in 1936 and made sketches of the aboriginal people for her painting, which resulted in a work titled *Sanchimon-sha no On'na* (*Women of Shandimen*, fig. 5.79). She had written letters regularly to the alumnae association of *Joshi Bijutsu Gakkô*, which were printed in many of their journals. On her making of *Sanchimon-sha no On'na*, she wrote,

I had planned to send a picture with a different subject from former works to *Bunten* last autumn with the intention of expressing the beauty of my home island by showing aborigines, but I could not work satisfactorily on it. As I had visited the far south in Taiwan all the way to the end, I searched for something special to make a picture of and chose this subject. This place was rather far from level ground, so that I had great difficulty with collecting materials and making sketches. (...) I made a study in the beginning of September so that I could start to work on the picture far behind with my schedule. I felt that I would fail to finish it before the deadline but I was surprised to have completed it earlier than I had expected. (...) As I became very pessimistic, I felt really refreshed to know that my picture was accepted for *Bunten*.⁸⁸

From this letter, there is no doubt that she expended great effort to attain

⁸⁸ Chen, Jin. "Nyûsen Shokan" (Impression of being accepted to the Exhibition), in *Kyôyû-kai*, Tokyo: Joshi Bijutsu Senmon Gakkô Dôshokai, no.16, March, 1937, p. 118. The original text is: 「去年の秋の文展出品費は今迄の畫題と少し趣きを異に致し、著人によつて郷土美を表現する積りで御座いましたけれど仲々思ふ様に参りませんでした。折角台湾の最南端の當地迄参つたので御座いますから、何か変わった材料をと存じ今度の畫材をえらんだ様なわけ。平地から一寸はなれて居ますものですから材料を集めるのにも写生の機会も仲々思ふ様に得られなく閉口致しました。(中略)(下図は)九月の始め頃迄かかりましたので本製作にかかるのがずつと遅くれ搬入期日までに間に合ひさうもない様な気が致しましたが、不思議にも予定より少し早く出来ました時は自分でも案外な気が致しました。(中略)悪い方に許り想像致して居りましただけに入選出来ました時は本当に生き歸つた様な心持ち。」

success at *Buntan*, and thus selected the aboriginal subject in *Sanchimon-sha no On'na*. Sightseeing in aboriginal villages was a common attraction for Japanese tourists and aboriginal people were “shown” as “other” (fig. 5. 62). Artists in Taiwan, without mentioning Shiotsuki but Taiwanese painter, such as Yen Shui-long showed a young girl in a quite “exotic” manner (fig. 5.80). It could be explained that Chen Jin selected the aboriginal subject to present at the exhibition for the Japanese government to attract the eyes of Japanese judges. She was expected to represent images of “primitive” Taiwanese women that were so sought after by the Japanese. In this sense, she could not escape from the gendered power relationship between the coloniser and the colonised.

On the other hand, when we look at *Sanchimon-sha no On'na* carefully, we cannot easily conclude that Chen Jin expressed images of “otherness” for Japanese viewers. In this picture, women and children were represented in traditional fashion outdoors, and the absence of male members of the family followed the common iconography of colonial images. However, women in Chen Jin's picture seem to ignore the viewers' gaze. A child in the centre stairs back at us as if he or she resists our gaze. The painstaking depiction of their costume and accessories in detail seems to reveal Chen's respect for the aboriginal culture. Dressed in a kimono and painting *nihon-ga* as a “Japanese,” Chen must have struggled to make images of Taiwan welcome to Japanese judges of government-sponsored exhibitions at the same time she was searching for her own identity. Her letters to the alumnae association of the Tokyo Women's Art School were written in very polite Japanese. They reveal how attentive she was in associating with her Japanese colleagues but also her proud identity as a member of the graduates of a Japanese art school.

Rawanchaukul Toshiko developed a quite interesting discussion on a group of artists that originated under Japanese occupation in Singapore and Malaysia

known as “nan-yô.”⁹⁰ She argued that the word “nan-yô” which literary meant “South seas”⁹¹ was originally coined in China as a result of Han-Chinese centrism. People who lived in “nan-yô” who had Chinese origin had searched for their own identity and found the answer by “discovering” more “broad” and “primitive” places and people outside their community with whom to identify. Male artists who could have trained in modern art education found their objects in the “uncivilised” images of women, and expressed them as “otherness.” Rawanchaikul showed an example of an image of an aboriginal woman by a male artist in Singapore that resembled Gauguin’s image of a Tahitian woman, and pointed out that there had existed further complexity of identity for the Taiwanese as people of Chinese origin living outside of China. Chen Jin was born into a family of Chinese origin in Taiwan, and she was a female artist who wore kimono under Japanese colonisation. When Japanese male artists produced kimono beauties as a national symbol under imperial Japan, she was born in a Japanese colony and both she and her works were gazed at as “exotic” by male Japanese artists. It could be said that she needed the “primitive” subject to secure her ambivalent identity.

5.6 “Kimono Beauty Imperialism” in Oil Paintings

Okada Saburôtsuke played a crucial role in creating “kimono beauty” as discussed in chapter 3. Though he was particularly skilful with oil, he explored various other materials for his painting after the 1920s. This forms a good contrast with Fujishima Takeji, who continued working exclusively in oil to express the “Tôyô spirit.” The two artists experimented in different ways but both sought to define the painting of modern Japan, a kind of “national painting” that was different from *nihon-ga*. He started to use *iwa-enogu* (mineral pigments) for *nihon-ga* from the 1910s, and later tried paper and silk as a foundation for his

⁹⁰ Rawanchaikul, Toshiko. “Nan-yô Bijutsu kô: Tasha no Saiseisan to Jiko no Kakutoku” (On Nan-yô Art: Reproduction of Otherness and Making of Identities), in *De arte: The Journal of the Kyushu Art Society*, March 2001, no. 17, Fukuoka: Nishinippon Bunka Kyôkai, pp. 79-101.

⁹¹ It is written in Chinese characters as “南洋”.

paintings.

Okada's interest in kimono had already been made apparent in his detailed representation of patterns and colours in paintings for Mitsukoshi in the early 1900s. Later, he came to be known for his vast collection of textiles that he purchased in Japan and in Europe. His painting titled *Shina-ginu no Mae* (*Standing Before a Chinese Cloth*) in 1920 (fig. 5. 81) documents his passion for textiles. The model for this painting was his wife, Okada Yachiyo, who was a pioneer among successful female novelists. The composition reminds us of *Genroku no Omokage* (fig. 3.38). Although *Genroku no Omokage* expresses simply an admiration for *Genroku* culture and adds some value to Mitsukoshi kimono, *Shina-ginu no Mae* clearly represented the dual significance of the kimono - both as a sign of Japanese tradition and modernity. As the title indicates, Okada seems to have believed that the textile in the background was made in China. This kind of peach pattern was popular in China as a symbol of family prosperity. This cloth was part of Okada's collection and is now in *Tôyama Kinenkan* (Tôyama Memorial Museum). The researchers at the museum have concluded that it is actually a product of Meiji Japan. However, according to Okada's original concept, the composition showed a contrast between a modern Japanese woman in kimono and old Chinese fabric. The woman appears to be in the spotlight of a scene and the Chinese cloth was formed the backdrop. Just as Fujishima had created his own images of *Tôyô*, Okada explained his idea of *Tôyô* with this painting.

Among Okada's numerous works of "kimono beauty," *Ayame no Koromo* (*Kimono with Iris Pattern*) in 1927 (fig. 5.82), was the most well-known painting of his later years. It shows a woman baring her in an aquamarine and red kimono standing against a gold background. Her body and kimono were painted in academic style. The iris patterns on the aquamarine showed that it was made in embroidery and pattern on the red part was made by *shibori* (tie-dyeing). Iris patterns remind viewers of an episode from *Yatsushashi* (Eight Bridges) in *Ise*

Monogatari (Ise Stories), which is a well-known theme in Japanese art, such as *Kakitsubata-zu Byôbu* (Screen of Iris) and *Yatshashi-zu Byôbu* (Eight-Planked Bridge) by Ogata Kôrin (fig. 5.83). As we have seen in chapter 3, Mitsukoshi promoted Kôrin's art linked with the campaign of their *Genroku*-style kimono. Kôrin and *Rimpa* had come to be regarded as a typical for representing Japanese art in the modern age. An association of "kimono beauty" against the gold background reminds us of Okada's *Bôfujin no Shôzô* (A Portrait of a Woman). In fact, in this painting, Okada did not use gold pigments to create the "gold screen" though it appears to be gold in colour.

Recent scientific research has revealed the unique technique used for *Ayame no Koromo*.⁹² Okada had tried to use Japanese paper as a foundation for his paintings already. However, in this painting, he used *kurahuto-shi* (papers made from Kraft pulp), which is now widely used in wrapping paper for packing. By utilizing the effect of its brown-coloured surface, Okada made a gold-looking background without using any gold pigments. Okada pursued his own style of "Japanese painting" by blending the techniques of Western and Japanese art.

The success of Okada's poster in *Murasaki no Shirabe* (An excellent performance of *Tuzumi*) might still have had an impact on painters. Koiso Ryôhei made a poster for the shipping company *Nippon Yûsen Kabushiki Kaisha* in 1940 with images of three "kimono beauties" sitting before a gold screen (fig. 5.84). This was an advertisement for the new passenger boats built by *Nihon Yûsen*, *Nitta-maru*, *Yawata-maru* and *Kasuga-maru*. These "Three Sister Ships" were the images represented by the three sisters in kimono. Each woman holds a folding fan with the name of the ship that she represents, so the woman on the left symbolises *Nitta-maru*, the eldest, and wears a chic kimono of dark colour. The woman on the right is the youngest, and wears pretty kimono in red. It was

⁹² Uchiro, Hiroyuki. "'Ayame no Koromo' o Egaita Gajin, Okada Saburôtsuke: Gihô Zairyô Kenkyû ni Sasageta sono Gadô o Otte" (Okada Saburôtsuke, A Painter of 'Ayame no Koromo': Following His Life Devoted to Research on Technique and Materials), in Pola Museum of Art ed., *Kuroda Seiki, Kishida Ryûsei no Jidai: Korekushon ni miru Meiji Taishô no Gaka tachi* (The Age of Kuroda Seiki and Kishida Ryusei: Meiji and Taishô Era Painters from the Collection), Pola Museum of Art, Pola Art Foundation, 2005, pp. 72-75.

this difference in kimono fashion by generation was one of the custom that Takahashi Yoshio wanted to promote in Japan in the early twentieth century. Behind the three women, there is a screen that might be of a subject from *Genji Monogatari* (*Tale of Genji*). If so, the images of young women in modern fashion in kimono are contrasted with traditional Japanese culture depicted in the screen. This poster was for foreign customers, and the company made another poster for Japanese customers by Fujisawa Tatsuo (fig. 5.85). Fujisawa is an unknown artist, and compared to Koiso, who is a famous oil painter, the poster by Fujisawa is rather mediocre, but the difference in fashion among the sisters showed a good contrast. For Japanese, they showed three women in Western-style clothes with sashes with the words “*Kaiun Hôkoku*” (Shipping and Patriotism), in quite different manner from the “kimono beauties” in the poster for the Westerners.

As the poster by Okada for a beauty contest in 1908 was influential in popularising images of “kimono beauty,” another image on the occasion of a beauty contest held in 1931 serves as a good example to end our discussion on “kimono beauty.” This contest was organised by *Shûkan Asahi* (*Asahi Weekly Magazine*) to select the “*Misu Nippon*” (Miss Nippon).⁹³ Applicants were judged only by photographs, and were required to be at least fifteen years old. Dancers, actresses and geisha could not enter the contest. Among the ten judges, three were artists: Asakura Fumio (a sculptor), Tsuchida Bakusen and Wada Sanzô. The top winner would receive a portrait painted by Wada Sanzô in oil. Although there was no rule requiring that photographs be exclusively of the women in kimono, gravure pages to announce the winners only showed portraits of contestants in kimono.⁹⁴ Wada needed to paint the portrait of the winner before the result was publicised in the magazine, and he finished it in rough brush strokes in only two days.⁹⁵ On the other hand, Kanokogi Takeshirô painted a

⁹³ The announcement for the contest was issued in *Shûkan Asahi*, 20 January 1931, pp. 2-3, and pp. 30-31. Related issues were printed in the magazine repeatedly.

⁹⁴ The result was announced in *Shûkan Asahi*, 7 June 1931, pp. 3-9.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

portrait of Miss Kita, who was among the nine second-prize winners, which he showed at the fourteenth *Teiten* under the title of *Madomowazeru Kita* (*Mademoiselle Kita*, fig. 5.86). The model was born in Kyoto and her father was an antique dealer who had many customers in the West. The portrait was painted with minute brushstrokes, and it showed her profile against a gold screen of the kind known as *Tagasode Byōbu* (A Screen Showing Someone's Kimono) that were made around the seventeenth century. These screens show kimono hung on racks as a kind of *tromp-l'oeuil* against gold background. The screen in Kanokogi's painting represented that kimono can be appreciated for itself as a kind of interior decoration. Here, kimono is shown as Japanese traditional art contrasted with a beauty in modern kimono. "Kimono beauty" in this painting represented the typical beauty of a Japanese woman who embodied both modern Japan and Japanese tradition, which was to symbolise the national identity of modern Japan. There is a sequel to the story of this painting as well. A French ambassador admired it so much at the exhibition that the painting was presented to him as a gift. Thus, the image of "kimono beauty" was sent to France on a goodwill mission.

A final note on this story is that the *Shūkan Asahi* magazine showed the model's photograph three years later and reported that she had become a good wife and would soon be a mother (fig. 5.87). "Miss Nippon" was expected to be an "ideal" woman of the Japanese Empire.

Conclusion

We have analysed numerous images of women represented in Japan from the 1890s to the 1930s. Western-style dress for women was introduced in the early Meiji period for the upper class but it did not become popular among common people. As late as in the mid-1920s, the number of young women wearing Western-style clothes increased in the central districts of Tokyo but these still remained in the minority.

According to a 1925 study by Kon Wajirô at Ginza , which was the most fashionable spot in Tokyo at that time, the ratio of women wearing kimono to those wearing Western-style clothes was 99 to 1.⁹⁶ At a time when the majority of Japanese women wore kimonos, it might be no surprise that images of kimonos were extremely popular in Japanese visual culture. However, the same study revealed that fully 67 percent of men were wearing Western-style clothes at this time. This suggests the gendered role of kimonos for women. As we have discussed throughout each chapter, the images of kimonos were formed through the modern period in Japan along with the creation of kimono for women as a national dress. Both the image and the kimono as national dress were undertaken by the male-centred social system that was constructed and strengthened up through 1945.

The female nude was an enthusiastically desired genre since Kuroda Seiki opened a life class in the Tokyo School of Fine Arts, and male artists tightened their studio fraternity centred on female nude in art schools in Japan and in Europe. However, exhibiting images of the female nude to the public remained controversial until the early twentieth century. Artists refrained from direct expression of eroticism in female nudes in the government-sponsored exhibitions, whereas “avant-garde” artists centred on eroticism, as we have seen in the manifestoes of groups in Kyoto.

⁹⁶ Kon, Wajirô. *Kôgen-gaku: Kon Wajirô shû 1 (Study on Modern Social Phenomena: Collected Essays of Kon Wajirô)*, Tokyo: Domesu Shuppan, 1971, pp. 84-85.

Male artists who had been to Europe and acquired the Westernised mind bolstered their modernised position by rediscovering the “beauty” of Japanese women in kimono and represented their images using compositions and styles of Western art. In the 1920s, Fujishima Takeji created images of *Tôyô*, citing images of Korean, Chinese and European Renaissance art. Other artists also found “exoticism” in women in Chinese dress and Korean dress under the gaze of the colonisers. Contrasted to these images of women in East Asia, the images of “kimono beauty” were made into a national icon.

As we have discussed earlier, the discovery of images of Japanese colonies and formation of “kimono beauty” cannot be discussed as a dichotomy. Viewed from a European perspective, Japan was a small country in the Far East. Images of merry women in kimono were “exotic” objects that satisfied Europeans’ sexual imaginations of a “primitive” country. Male Japanese artists who studied in Europe imitate this gaze on female images, and tried to put themselves in the same position as male Europeans. As Fujishima’s case testified, these male Japanese positions were secured by discovering more “primitive” female images both within and outside of Japan. Positioning Japanese colonies into a period of Japan’s “past” by using the images of women, male Japanese artists ensured their superiority over the colonised.

Oguma Eiji pointed out that rapid expansion of Japanese territory after establishing the Meiji government caused serious problems related to confusion over Japanese identity. Japanese artists needed to convince themselves of their identity by creating images of women in kimono after they returned from Europe and Japanese colonies. In this sense, both female images in kimono and in Asian dress are similar before the gaze of male Japanese artists. Women’s bodies were merely a vehicle to convey artists’ ideas and objects onto which to project their desires. People in East Asia do not differ very much in appearance, and the difference in fashion played a crucial role in distinguishing among these female images. Thus, these artists whom I have discussed paid careful attention

to the realistic expression of texture and patterns in the dress of their female subjects.

However, in some cases, artists who pursued this goal ultimately even abandoned female bodies and needed only the kimono to express Japanese identity. Okada Saburôtsuke, one of the inventors of "kimono beauty," he became a well-known textile collector in his later years. His collection ranged widely with items from all over the world. Though he kept working on female nudes, he refined his interest in female dress by collecting textiles. Terry S. Milhaupt researched some fragments of *Tsujigahana*, which had been highly valued among the collectors of textiles in the sixteenth century.⁹⁷ *Tsujigahana* was made with a mixture of various techniques of dying and embroidery. Though it was originally kimono for noble women and boys and was donated to temples after their death for use in a memorial service for them, they had been cut into pieces in the modern age and were acquired by collectors such as Okada and Yasuda Yukihiro. Kimono of *Tsujigahana* was removed from its history related to female bodies and made into artefacts purchased by male collectors.

I would like to end this thesis by providing another example to show "kimono beauty" without female bodies. The covers and illustrations of several issues of the graphic magazine *Nippon* featured simplified images of women in kimono. The magazine was published in English, German and French to introduce Japanese culture to readers abroad. From the first issue of the magazine, the graphic designer Yamana Ayao used an image of a paper doll in kimono in front of a photographic image of a modern kimono (fig. 6.1). The cover of the eleventh issue of *Nippon for l'Exposition Internationale de Paris* in 1937, designed by Kumada Gorô, showed images of ceramic dolls in kimono (fig. 6.2). Here, bodies of real woman were apparently no longer necessary and a doll in kimono sufficed to symbolize the identity of Japan.

⁹⁷ Milhaupt, Terry S., "The Four-Hundred-Year Life of a *Tsujigahana* Textile: From Secular Garment to Museum Artifact", in *Moving Objects: Time, Space, and Context*, Tokyo: National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, Tokyo, 2004, pp. 47-56.

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Fig. 3.48 A photograph of Suehiro Hiroko, the first-prize-winner. Copied from Shinjinbutsu Orai-sha ed., *Bakumatsu Meiji Bijin Chō (Albums of Beauties in the end of Edo and the Meiji Period)*, p.102
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Fig. 5.12 Kaburaki Kiyokata, *Kurokami (Black Hair)*, 1912, colour on silk, 166.2×185.0cm (each), private collection.

Fig. 5.13 Nojima Yasuzô, *Kami Suku On'na (Woman Combing Her Hair)*, 1914, gum bichromatic print, 28.5×23.11cm, Kyoto: The Nojima Collection courtesy of National Museum of Modern Art, Kyoto.

Fig. 5.14 Nonagase Banka, *Shoka no Nagare (Mountain Torrent in Early Summer)*, 1918, colour on cotton, 176.5×557.0cm, Kyoto: Kyoto Municipal Museum of Art.

Fig. 5.15 Kitagawa Utamaro, *Awabitori (Abalone Divers)*, c.1797-8, colour woodblock print on paper, 38.1×25.5cm (right), 37.2×24.3cm (middle), 37.2×24.5cm (left), Paris: Musée National des Asiatiques-Guimet.

Fig. 5.16 Chigusa Sôun, *Ama (Woman Divers)*, 1908, colour on silk, 173.0×115.0cm, Kyoto: National Museum of Modern Art, Kyoto.

Fig. 5.17 Tsuchida Bakusen, *Oharama (Flower Venders)*, 1915, colour on silk, 175.8×374.6cm (each), Tokyo: Yamatane Museum of Art.

Fig. 5.18 Tsuchida Bakusen, *Yuna (A Courtesan in a Bathhouse)*, 1918, colour on silk, 197.4 × 195.6cm. Tokyo: The National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo.

Fig. 5.19 Tsuchida Bakusen, *Pari no On'na (Women in Paris)*, 1924, tempera on canvas, 137.0 × 116.0cm, private collection.

Fig. 5.20 Tsuchida Bakusen, *Bugi Rinsen zu (A Maiko in Japanese Garden)*, 1924, colour on silk, 219.0 × 103.0cm, Tokyo: The National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo.

Fig. 5.21 Tsuchida Bakusen, *Oharame (Flower Venders)*, 1927, colour on silk, 217.7 × 214.5cm, Kyoto: National Museum of Modern Art, Kyoto.

Fig. 5.22 Fra Angelico, *The Annunciation*, 1440s, fresco, 230.0 × 321.0cm, Firenze: Museo di San Marco.

Fig. 5.23 Tsuchida Bakusen, *Meishō (Beautifully dressed-up Maiko)*, 1924, colour on silk, 219.0 × 103.0cm, Tokyo: The National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo.

Fig. 5.24 Kikuchi Keigetsu, *Mosha: Jotto, Eikō no Seibo, Bubun (Copy of a Part of "Virgin in Glory" by Giotto di Bondone)*, c.1922-23, colour on paper, 48.0 × 36.0cm, Kyoto: National Museum of Modern Art, Kyoto.

Fig. 5.25 Kikuchi Keigetsu, *Ryūjo (Standing Women)*, 1924, colour on silk, 154.5 × 170.5cm, Nagano: Nagano Prefectural Shinano Art Museum.

Fig. 5.26 Kikuchi Keigetsu, *Haihateroma (Haihateroma Island)*, 1928, colour on silk, 224.0 × 176.0cm, Kyoto: Kyoto Municipal Museum of Modern Art.

Fig. 5.27 Tsuchida Bakusen, *Keshi (Poppies)*, 1929, colour on silk, 161.0 × 106.5cm (each), Tokyo: Museum of Imperial Collections (Sannomaru Shōzokan).

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Fig. 5.29 Tsuchida Bakusen, *Heishō (Wooden Bed)*, 1933, colour on silk, 153.0 × 209.0cm, Kyoto: Kyoto Municipal Museum of Modern Art.

Fig. 5.30 A photograph in an exhibition catalogue: Yoshinaka, Mitsuyo ed., *Uruwashi no Kyoto, Itoshi no Bijutsukan (70th Anniversary Celebration: Favorites & Memories)*, Kyoto: Kyoto Municipal Museum of Art, 2003.

Fig. 5.31 Kawamura Manchū, *Arisan no Gogatsu (Mount Ari in May)*, 1933, colour on silk, 71.0 × 86.7cm, Tokyo: Museum of Imperial Collections (Sannomaru Shōzokan).

- Fig. 5.32 Katsuta Tetsu, *Asa (Morning)*, 1933, colour on silk, 166.0×180.0cm, Kyoto: Kyoto Municipal Museum of Art.
- Fig. 5.33 Nakamura Daizaburô, *Piano (The Piano)*, 1926, colour on silk, 164.5×302.0cm, Kyoto: Kyoto Municipal Museum of Art.
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- Fig. 5.35 Kikuchi Keigetsu, *Yûzen no Shôjo (A Young Woman Dressed in Kimono Dyed in Yûzen)*, 1933, colour on silk, 152.0×88.0cm, Kyoto: Kyoto Municipal Museum of Art.
- Fig. 5.36 Kikuchi Keigetsu, *Sansaku (A Walk)*, 1934, colour on silk, 173.0×173.5cm, Kyoto: Kyoto Municipal Museum of Art.
- Fig. 5.37 A group photograph of *Sekiyô-kai (The Group of the Red Sun)*, c.1915., copied from Yamatane Museum of Art ed., *Hayami Gyoshû, Kaiga no Shin Seimei (Truth in Paintings)*, Tokyo: Chûôkôron Bijutsu Shuppan.
- Fig. 5.38 Hayami Gyoshû, *Chawan to Kajitsu (The Bowl and Fruits)*, 1921, colour on silk, 27.0×24.0cm, Tokyo: The National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo.
- Fig. 5.39 Hayami Gyoshû, *On'na Nidai (Two Views of Women)*, 1931, colour on silk, 136.8×115.0cm (left), 138.2×114.7cm (right), Fukushima: Fukushima Prefectural Museum of Art.
- Fig. 5.40 Hayami Gyoshû, *Hana no Katawara (Beside Flowers)*, 1932, colour on paper, 165.0×96.3cm, Tokyo: Kabuki-za.
- Fig. 5.41 (a, b) Hayami Gyoshû, *Seikyû Fujo Shô (Abstracts of Woman's Life in Korea)*, 1933, colour on silk: *Dôgi (Child Kisaeng)*, 57.0×51.5cm, private collection; *Karupo (Prostitutes)*, 57.0×66.7cm, Tokyo: Yamatane Art Museum; *Shokujo (Weaving Woman)*, 57.0×100.0cm, private collection; *Kinutauchi, (Woman Softening a Cloth)*, location unknown; *Harunigakusa (Processing Herbs)*, 57.0×121.2cm, private collection.
- Fig. 5.42 Hayami Gyoshû, *a study for Fujo Gunzô (A Group of Women)*, 1934, colour on silk, Kuramoto, Taeko. *Hayami, Gyoshû no Geijutsu (The Art of Hayami, Gyoshû)*, Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Shimbunsha, p. 262.
- Fig. 5.43 Sima Seien, *Matsuri no Yosooi (Dressing Up for a Festival)*, 1913, colour on silk, 142.0×284.0cm, Osaka: Osaka City Museum Modern Art.
- Fig. 5.44 Uemura Shôen, *Hana Gatami (A Flower Basket)*, 1915, colour on silk, 208.0×127.0cm, Nara: Shôhaku Art Museum.

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Fig. 5.48 Uemura Shōen, *Jo-no-mai (Dance Performed in a Noh Play)*, 1936, colour on silk, 233.0×141.3cm, Tokyo: The University Art Museum, Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music.

Fig. 5.49 Visit to China by Uemura Shōen, in *Kokuga*, April 1942, Tokyo: *Tōei*.

Fig. 5.50 Uemura Shōen, *Seibshō (Memories of Blue Eyebrows)*, 1943, 18.5×13.5cm, Kyoto: Rikugōshoin.

Fig. 5.51 Uemura Shōen, *Boshi (Mother and a Child)*, 1914, colour on silk, 168.0×115.5cm, Tokyo: The National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo.

Fig. 5.52 Yamakawa Shūhō, *Jo-no-mai (Dance Performed in a Noh Play)*, 1932, colour on silk, 181.5×127.0cm, Tokyo: The National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo.

Fig. 5.53 Photograph of Sai Shō-ki (Choi Seung-Hee), on the cover of *Sandei Mainichi (Sunday Mainichi Weekly Magazine)*, 21 April 1935, in Kimura, Rieko ed., *Dansu! Nijū-seiki Shotō no Bijutsu to Butō (Dance in Japanese Modern Art)*, Utsunomiya: Tochigi Prefectural Museum of Fine Arts.

Fig. 5.54 Fujimoto Shihachi, photograph of Sai shō-ki (Choi Seung-Hee), c.1941, gelatin silver print, 40.4×27.6cm, Tokyo: The Photographic Society of Japan, in Kimura, Rieko ed., *Dansu! Nijū-seiki Shotō no Bijutsu to Butō, (Dance in Japanese Modern Art)*, Utsunomiya: Tochigi Prefectural Museum of Fine Arts.

Fig. 5.55 Kobayashi Mango, *Sōbu (A Dance in Buddhist Attire)*, 1931, oil on canvas, 162,1×112,1cm, location unknown.

Fig. 5.56 Chang Woo-soung, *A Dance in Buddhist Attire*, date unknown, colour on silk, 196.3×161.8cm, Seoul: National Museum of Contemporary Art, Korea.

Fig. 5.57 Sim Hyonggu, *Senfuku (Costume for the Batele Dance)*, 1937, location unknown, in Kim, Hyesin, "Images of Women during the Krea Colonial Period", in Mostow, Josua S.; Bryson, Norman; and Graybill, Maribeth; eds., *Gender and Power in the Japanese Visual Field*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2003. p. 151.

Fig. 5.58 Uemura Shōen, *Kinuta (A Block for Beating Cloth)*, 1938, colour on silk, 217.0×113.0cm,

Tokyo: Yamatane Museum of Art.

Fig. 5.59 Yasuda Yukihiro, *Sonshi Rokukihei (Sun Tzu Training Court Ladies)*, 1938, colour on paper, 66.4 × 136.4cm, Tokyo: Reiyūkai.

Fig. 5.60 Uemura Shōen, *Yūgure (Evening Dusk)*, 1941, colour on silk, 213.0 × 99.5cm, Kyoto: Kyoto Prefectural Oki High School.

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Fig. 5.62 A photograph of Fujishima Takeji (centre right) with Umehara Ryūzaburō (the rightmost), in Yuzawa Michio; Iwasa Arata; Hasegawa Hitoshi eds., *Fujishima Takeji Gashū (A Collection of Pictures by Fujishima Takeji)*, Tokyo: Fujishima Takeji Gashū Kankō-kai, 1943.

Fig. 5.63 Fujishima Takeji, *Banjo (Aboriginal Girl)*, location unknown. Plate 103 in Yuzawa Michio; Iwasa Arata; Hasegawa Hitoshi eds., *Fujishima Takeji Gashū (A Collection of Pictures by Fujishima Takeji)*, Tokyo: Fujishima Takeji Gashū Kankō-kai, 1943.

Fig. 5.64 Shiotsuki Tôho, *Yama no On'na (Woman Living in Mountains)*, location unknown, in Yen, Chuan-ying ed., *Fengjing Xinjing: Taiwan Jindai Meishu Wenxian Daodu, (Landscape Moods: Selected Readings in Modern Taiwanese Art)*, vol.1, Taipei: Xiongshi Meishu, 2001, p.191.

Fig. 5.65 Shiotsuki Tôho, *Tiayaru no On'na (A Woman of Atayal Tribe)*, Location Unknown, In Yen, Chuan-ying ed., *Fengjing Xinjing: Taiwan Jindai Meishu Wenxian Daodu, (Landscape Moods: Selected Readings in Modern Taiwanese Art)*, vol.1, Taipei: Xiongshi Meishu, 2001, p.232.

Fig. 5.66 Paul Gauguin, *Mana'o Tupapa'u (The Specter Watches Over Her)*, 1892, oil on canvas, 73.0 × 92.0cm, Buffalo: Albright-Knox Art Gallery, A Conger Goodyear Collection.

Fig. 5.67 Huang Tu-shui, *Shaka Shutsuzan (Buddha Descending the Mountain after Asceticism)*, 1927, bronze, 109.5 × 40.5 × 37.2cm, Taipei: Taiwan Museum of Art.

Fig. 5.68 Liang Kai, *Shussan Shaka zu (Buddha Descending the Mountain after Asceticism)*, early 13th century, colour on silk, 118.4 × 52.0cm, Tokyo: Tokyo National Museum.

Fig. 5.69 Huang Tu-shui, *Kanro-sui (The Nude with Sweet Dew)*, 1921, plaster, location unknown or destroyed, in Ching-hsien Lee, *Huang Tu-shui*, Taipei: Lionart, 1999, p. 65.

Fig. 5.70 Huang Tu-shui, *Pōzu seru On'na (A Model)*, 1922, plaster, location unknown, or destroyed.

Fig. 5.71 Jean-Léon Gérôme, *Phryné before the Aeropagus*, 1861, oil on canvas, 80.5 × 128.0cm, Hambourg: Hamburger Kunsthalle.

Fig. 5.72 Huang Tu-shui, *Bandô (Aboriginal Boy)*, 1920, location unknown, or destroyed, in Yen, Chuan-ying ed., *Fengjing Xinjing: Taiwan Jindai Meishu Wenxian Daodu (Landscape Moods: Selected Readings in Modern Taiwanese Art)*, vol.1. Taipei: Xiongshi Meishu, 2001, p. 124.

Fig. 5.73 Chen Jin, *Mikan (A Satuma)*, 1928, location unknown or destroyed, in the official catalogue of the second Taiwan Art Exhibition.

Fig. 5.74 Chen Jin among judges of the sixth Taiwan Art Exhibition in 1932, in the exhibition catalogue, *Taiwan no Josei Nihongaka, Seitan Hyakunen Kinen Chin Shin ten (A Taiwanese Female Nihonga Painter, Centennial Exhibition of Chen Jin)*, 2006, Tokyo: Shibuyaku Shôtô Art Museum, Kobe: Hyôgo Prefectural Museum of Art and Fukuoka: Fukuoka Asian Art Museum.

Fig. 5.75 Chen Jin, *Shiran no Kaori (Fragrance of Orchid)*, 1932, location unknown, or destroyed, in Wang, Hsin-kung ed., *Catalogues of paintings exhibited in Tai-ten and Fu-ten Exhibitions by Taiwanese Painters*, Taipei: Private Publishing, 1992, vol.2, p.187.

Fig. 5.76 Chen Jin, *Gassô (Ensemble)*, 1934, colour on silk, 177.0×200.0cm, Taipei: Private Collection.

Fig. 5.77 Chen Jin, *Keshô (Toilette)*, 1936, colour on silk, 212.0×182.0cm, Taipei: Private Collection.

Fig. 5.78 Chen Jin, *Yûkan (Leisurely)*, 1935, colour on silk, 136.0×161.0cm, Taipei: Taipei City Museum.

Fig. 5.79 Chen Jin, *Sanchimon-sha no On'na (Women of Sandimen)*, 1936, colour on silk, 147.8×198.7cm, Fukuoka: Fukuoka Asian Art Museum.

Fig. 5.80 Yen Shui-long, *Kôtôsho no On'na (A Woman in Orchid Island)*, 1935, in Yen, Chuan-ying ed., *Fengjing Xinjing: Taiwan Jindai Meishu Wenxian Daodu (Landscape Moods: Selected Readings in Modern Taiwanese Art)*, vol.1, Taipei: Xiongshi Meishu, 2001, p. 251.

Fig. 5.81 Okada Sabrôsuken, *Sinaginu no Mae (Standing Before a Chinese Cloth)*, 1920, oil on canvas, 121.0×91.0cm, Osaka: Takashimaya Museum.

Fig. 5.82 Okada Sabrôsuken, *Ayame no Koromo (Kimono with Iris Patterns)*, 1927, oil on paper, 86.6×53.6cm, Kanagawa: Pola Museum of Art.

Fig. 5.83 Ogata Kôrin, detail of a left screen of *Yatsunashi zu Byôbu (Eight-Planked Bridge)*, 1710s, colour on paper, 179.0×371.5cm (each), New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Louisa Eldridge McBurney Gift, 1953.

Fig. 5.84 Koiso Ryôhei, poster: *The Three New Sister Ships*, 1940, published by Nippon Yûsen Kabushiki Kaisha, Yokohama: Yokohama Maritime Museum.

Fig. 5.85 Fujisawa Tatsuo, poster: *The Three New Sister Ships*, 1941, published by Nippon Yûsen Kabushiki Kaisha, Yokohama: Yokohama Maritime Museum.

Fig. 5.86 Kanokogi Takeshirô, *Madomowaseru Kita (Mademoiselle Kita)*, 1931, location unknown.

Fig. 5.87 Portrait of Kita Toshiko in *Shûkan Asahi (Asahi Weekly Magazin)*, 1 January 1934.

Fig. 6.1 Yamana Ayao, a front cover of *NIPPON*, no.1, 20 October 1934, 37.1 × 26.6cm, Tokyo: Nipponkôbô, Kawasaki: Kawasaki City Museum.

Fig. 6.2 Kumada Gorô, a front cover of *NIPPON*, no.11, 17 May 1937, 37.2 × 26.6cm, Tokyo: Nipponkôbô, Kawasaki: Kawasaki City Museum.